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Developing Interactional Competence in a Second Language: A Case Study of a Spanish Language Learner

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Dedication

For Mom, Dad, Ran, and Roxie. I’m so fortunate to have you all in my life.

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Developing Interactional Competence in a Second Language: A Case Study of a Spanish Language Learner

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This study analyzes the development of Interactional Competence by a learner of Spanish in the study abroad context. The data are derived from six conversations between the learner and a native speaker of Spanish filmed over the course of the learner's academic year abroad. The analysis of the data consist of two main foci: analysis of the learner's displayed skills in speaker selection, alignment activity, and topic management, and how those skills evolved over the course of the year abroad; and analysis of the roles that the learner and the native speaker play in co-construction, again examining how those roles evolved over time.

The learner's level of development at the beginning of the year abroad in the three categories of interactional resources analyzed showed already

relatively strong skills in speaker selection and nascent or undeveloped skills in alignment activity and topic management. By the end of her stay abroad, she showed stronger skills in both speaker selection and alignment activity, and improved though still limited skill in topic management. The learner's development in these interactional resources is viewed as evidence of improvement in Interactional Competence.

Examination of the roles the interactants assumed revealed orientation to the novice/expert paradigm, as evidenced by their discussion of language learning and by the prevalence of repair. In their discussions, the interactants propose an engagement in which the learner can participate in concert with an expert but with limited responsibility and available support. Over the course of the year, both of the interactants initiated repair less frequently, especially in terms of form-focused versus meaning-based repair. Orientation to the novice/expert dynamic and movement away from this dynamic over time was viewed as evidence of the learner's trajectory from peripheral towards full participation in interaction. In addition, the learner's movement towards fuller participation in the interaction was displayed in her greater activity in co-construction while the native speaker held the floor, especially in terms of alignment activity. This research helps characterize and develop the notion of Interactional Competence and provides insights into facets of the development of the learner's Interactional Competence in the study abroad setting.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 THE CONCEPT OF INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE

The concept of Interactional Competence (IC) is a construct that has only recently been incorporated into the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Born from a combination of dissatisfaction with the prevailing method of oral proficiency assessment—the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI)—and research in fields of study outside the realm of SLA, IC is an approach to the analysis of language ability that seeks to provide a more dynamic view of the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions of communicative events. The concept of IC represents an innovative approach to SLA that rejects the dominant cognitive perspective in the field, favoring instead a perspective that underscores the relevance of interaction and context.

Due to its recent establishment in the field of SLA, the concept of IC has not yet been thoroughly explored and refined through academic research. This dissertation contributes to the analysis of the construct of IC by examining the acquisition of IC by a Spanish language learner in the study abroad setting. Through a longitudinal analysis of interactions between the learner and a native speaker of Spanish, the present study examines the process and manifestations of IC.

At its most basic level, IC is a re-elaboration or extension of the concept of Communicative Competence (Canale and Swain 1980) that intends to provide a more expansive account of the knowledge and skills that participation in interaction entails.

1.1.1 Communicative Competence

Prior to the 1970's, a speaker's proficiency in a second language was understood primarily in terms of grammatical accuracy. This focus was reflected in the teaching methodologies and the assessment practices of the time. Beginning around 1970, researchers in SLA, influenced by researchers from other disciplines, began to examine the nature of language and the relationship between linguistic form and social context and function. The most influential model that analyzed this relationship was Hymes's (1974) model of Communicative Competence (CC). Hymes's model was, in part, a reaction to the prevailing focus in the field of linguistics on linguistic form divorced from its context, particularly the Chomskyan construct of the ideal speaker-listener in a homogeneous speech community (Chomsky 1965). Hymes's perspective was that the Chomskyan focus on solely the linguistic form constituted a deficient view of language. Chomsky's conception of competence sees only rules of structure, limiting knowledge purely to grammaticality. Hymes attempted to create a model that integrated analysis of form, context, and function, seeing language as social interaction, not an abstract grammatical system. Hymes saw the need to analyze rules or norms of language use, expanding the concept of competence to include appropriateness (1972: 279).

Canale and Swain (1980) applied insights from Hymes's and others' work to their own theory of communicative competence for speakers of a second language. Their work recognized the impact that changing the theory of the nature of competence could have on second and foreign language teaching and testing. They developed a model that attempted to account for all the knowledge

and abilities that a learner must have in order to be able to communicate effectively and appropriately in a foreign language. In their model, CC included four interacting types of competence: (1) the traditional grammatical competence, referring to accuracy in morphology, phonology, and other structural realms; (2) sociocultural competence, comprising primarily knowledge of the norms of appropriate language use in any given sociocultural context, taking into account such contextual factors as the status of the participants, the setting, and the topic; (3) discourse competence, concerning the knowledge of cohesive devices of oral and written discourse; and (4) strategic competence, involving the learner's ability to compensate for any deficiencies that impede communication.

Canale and Swain's model was highly influential in the field of SLA. Their model moved the focus of SLA from a purely grammatical basis for determining a learner's oral proficiency level to a perspective that considered the contextual features of linguistic interaction. Their model has been central in the field of SLA in providing "a rich view of the knowledge and skills that an individual needs to command in order to communicate actively, appropriately, and effectively in a second language" (He and Young 1998: 4).

Recently, however, researchers including He and Young have begun to revisit the notion of CC. This scrutiny has been motivated primarily by recent research in various fields of analysis of communication that stress the co-constructed nature of interaction. Research on co-construction, presented in section 1.2.2, forms the basis of the construct of IC.

1.1.2 Co-construction

The notion of co-construction was most thoroughly articulated in Jacoby and Ochs's (1995) introduction to the topic in a collection of articles in the *Journal of Research on Language and Social Interaction*. They define co-construction as "the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality" (171). Jacoby and Ochs outline the range of disciplines that have focused on the notion of co-construction, including, among others, Applied Linguistics, Conversation Analysis, and Linguistic Anthropology.

One of the clearest contexts of co-construction is seen in adult/child interaction, often referred to as the "baby-talk" register (Ferguson 1977, Brown 1977, Cross 1977, Snow and Ferguson 1977). In adult/child interactions, the adult expands upon the child's incomplete or unintelligible contribution (Jacoby and Ochs 1995). Excerpt 1-1 from Keenan and Schieffelin (1976:352) shows a mother's expansion of her daughter's utterance.

Excerpt 1-1: Allison, 20.3½ months

1 Mother - What did you do? Where's the cookie?
2 Allison - Cup/
3 Mother - In the cup.

In this segment of interaction, the mother's question is answered by the child with a minimal but perfectly relevant response. The mother's expansion of the child's response augments the response to provide a fuller, syntactically more complex utterance. In so doing, the mother allows the child, still in early stages of language acquisition, to participate in meaningful interaction.

Additionally, her reframing of the child's utterance is likely one of the tools that drive the process of language acquisition in the child.

NS/NNS interaction shares some of the characteristics of adult/child interaction. "Foreigner talk," as the NS/NNS register is called, constitutes a simplified register that allows a NNS with limited capabilities to engage in interaction with a NS (Clyne 1981, Long 1983, Ellis 1985). Long (1983) analyzed dyadic interaction between NS and NNS adults and found a number of ways in which NS/NNS interaction differed from NS/NS interaction. NS's use a number of strategies that help avoid trouble and to repair trouble when it occurs. These devices underscore a patent awareness of the NS/NNS dynamic and the NS's willingness to provide scaffolding that allows the NNS to participate in the interaction. The awareness of the dynamic and the steps taken to facilitate the interaction imply that the NS takes on greater responsibility in the interaction for the co-construction of meaning.

Baby talk and foreigner talk registers are unique types of interaction that are characterized by an asymmetrical relationship between the interlocutors. Asymmetrical interaction produces some of the more obvious co-constructive behaviors because of the imbalanced distribution of rights and obligations in the interaction. Asymmetry, however, is not a requirement for co-construction. Rather, the co-constructive nature of interaction is relevant to all interaction.

Jacoby and Ochs (1995) state that the prefix 'co-' of co-construction refers to a variety of dynamics in interaction, including "collaboration, cooperation, and coordination" (171). The locally managed nature of interaction necessitates a cooperative and coordinated effort on the part of the interlocutors to maintain coherence and intersubjectivity. The coordination and cooperation seen in co-

construction do not mean that the interlocutors are always in agreement, because even an argument is co-constructed. Researchers in the field of Conversation Analysis, for example, have analyzed the basic structures of interaction, determining how interlocutors manage turn-taking in interaction (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 1982, 1986).

Another area of study that has focused on the co-constructed nature of interaction is research in narrative structure. Mandelbaum (1987) found a structural organization that she refers to as 'recipient-driven' stories. In recipient-driven stories, the hearers drive the tellers' stories through their questions. Thus, both the hearer and the teller co-construct the story's narrative flow, the organization, and the evaluative significance (Jobe and Dings 2002). Goffman (1974) and Ervin-Tripp and Küntay (1997) analyzed the phenomena of story rounds, instances of stories that are followed by other stories in extended interaction. When hearers follow tellers' stories with others of their own, the ensuing stories are built on the interpretation of the preceding stories. The evaluative significance of all the narrative both is built upon the prior stories and impacts the evaluation of the prior stories. In sum, narratives flow in conversation, as the hearers and tellers co-construct common story topics and evaluations.

Co-construction, as seen in the above review of related literature, is a concept that has been addressed, albeit often not with the same terminology, in many branches of linguistic study. Interestingly, it is a construct that has not been taken substantially into account in questions of determining a second language speaker's level of oral proficiency despite calls to such action, most notably by Kramsch (1986).

1.1.3 Interactional Competence

Kramsch (1986) questions whether the ACTFL construct of language proficiency reflects the true nature of "interactional competence," a notion that was built upon "not only a shared knowledge of the world, the reference to a common external context of communication, but also the construction of a shared internal context or 'sphere of inter-subjectivity' that is built through the collaborative efforts of the interactional partners" (367). Kramsch's notion clearly expresses the key concept of co-construction, a notion that she claims was overlooked in the "oversimplified view on human interaction taken by the proficiency movement" (367). The proficiency-oriented curriculum stresses function, content, and accuracy as the cornerstones of "communicative ability." Kramsch counters that these three objectives do not reflect the realities of authentic interaction. In the proficiency-oriented curriculum, a function, such as the ability to ask and answer questions, is approached as a grammatical skill rather than as an interactional ability that addresses pragmatic issues. Content in the oral proficiency movement is, according to Kramsch, a static structure and lacks the dynamism of real interaction. Finally, undue emphasis is placed on grammatical accuracy and the importance of discourse coherence is virtually ignored. Kramsch concluded her article with a call to arms, encouraging a move from the proficiency movement towards a greater recognition of the realities of IC.

More recently, the field of SLA has seen further focus on IC. He and Young (1998) posit two differences between CC and IC. At its most basic level,

IC is simply a fifth component to Canale and Swain's (1980) four-pronged model of CC. From this viewpoint, IC comprises the interactional resources that speakers have in their repertoire and can use competently in interaction. The configuration of the interactional resources that speakers bring to a conversation includes, in He and Young's (1998) construct, the resources related to turn and topic management, the knowledge of rhetorical scripts, knowledge of the pragmatics of specific lexis and syntactic structures, and the means for signaling boundaries. These resources are discussed in detail in section 1.2.4, Research on Second Language IC.

While the addition of a fifth component of CC is certainly an important step in furthering our understanding of competence, the real innovation proffered by He and Young's conceptualization of IC lies in the incorporation of the notion that co-construction is the basic quality of all interaction. Consequently, the traditional focus on the individual when analyzing CC is called into question. CC has been viewed as a "trait or bundle of traits that can be assessed in a given individual" (p. 7), while IC recognizes that any such assessment needs to take into account the co-constructed nature of the interaction. IC attempts to account for how interactants manage communication together. Rather than understanding CC as residing in the individual, IC takes the point of view that all interaction is jointly constructed by participants who draw on interactional resources in order to achieve communication. These interactional resources constitute the knowledge that participants bring to and utilize in interaction. IC can be understood, then, as a construct of what this knowledge is and how this knowledge is acquired.

Tarone (1998) provides a metaphor that aptly elucidates this focus on the co-construction of interaction vs. the traditional SLA focus on the individual. From Tarone's perspective, SLA in general views the learner as working alone in trying to put together a puzzle—an image that underscores the dominant cognitivist perspective in the field that views the learner as a "decontextualized information-processing mechanism" (441). A co-constructivist perspective on the learner sees learners as dancers, learning to dance through dancing with and adjusting to different partners who in turn dance with and adjust to them. The dance consists of partially predetermined moves and is partially locally interpreted. Interaction ultimately consists of participants who "synchronize interactive moves" (p. 433).

The ease and the ways in which the interlocutors "synchronize their interactive moves" will vary greatly depending on the relative levels of competence of the participants, in addition to other factors. The roles that the interlocutors play in the interaction may, in some ways, reflect the competence of each individual. Jacoby and Ochs (1995) maintain that there is a "distributed responsibility among interlocutors for the creation of sequential coherence, identities, meaning, and events" (177). In casual conversation among NS peers, the interactional rights and obligations are generally considered to be evenly distributed. While individual speakers may tend to dominate conversations for a number of reasons, including personality, goals, or recent experiences, NS peers interacting together theoretically share a level of competence in the language that allows for balanced distribution of interactional rights and obligations. When disparities in competence are somehow in evidence, such as in some NS/NNS interaction, the distribution of rights and obligations may be skewed, placing a

greater share of the burden of interacting on the more competent participant. The interaction is still co-constructed, but it does not reach a fully balanced distribution.

1.1.4 Research on Second Language IC

How, then, can one analyze a NNS's level of IC in the target language? On the most basic level, the interactional resources displayed in the learners' speech can be examined to understand their apparent ability to deploy them competently. Research in this arena is relatively abundant, although not all of the research was conducted with the notion of IC in mind. Research on interactional resources is reviewed in section 1.2.4.1.

Analysis of the co-constructive nature of interaction as it relates to interactional competence is best approached via an examination of the roles the participants play in interaction and, when possible, how the roles evolve over time. Research on co-construction and IC is reviewed in section 1.2.4.2.

1.1.4.1 L2 Speakers' Interactional Resources

He and Young (1998) assert that IC consists of the interactional resources that speakers have in their repertoire and can use successfully in interaction. The interactional resources include, in their model, the resources related to turn and topic management, the knowledge of rhetorical scripts, knowledge of the pragmatics of specific lexis and syntactic structures, and the means for signaling boundaries.

Turn management refers to the turn-taking system of an interaction. The seminal research on the general architecture of the turn-taking system of ordinary conversation was conducted by Sacks *et al.* (1974). This research illustrated both the interactional rules governing the orderly management of turns and the lack of rules governing the precise nature of turn size, order, and distribution. In other words, turn management in natural conversation is subject to a systematic architecture, but is ultimately locally managed and the turn-taking distribution is unpredictable. In ordinary conversation, there is not a fixed pattern of turn taking. Instead, the interactants follow the general architecture sketched in Sacks *et al.* (1974) in which, at the potential end of any turn, the following three options are possible next moves: the current speaker selects self by continuing speaking; the current speaker selects another speaker; or a noncurrent speaker selects self. The interactional resources that a speaker must have include the ability to select self, the ability to select another speaker, and the ability to be selected by another speaker. Additionally, speakers need to be cognizant of how turn-taking systems vary depending on the context of interaction. In asymmetrical situations, such as in typical classrooms and oral proficiency interviews, the authority figure (teacher or interviewer) has the right to claim a turn at any time and has greater control over the allocation of turns in the interaction (He and Young 1998, Young 1995, Young and Milanovic 1992).

Research on second language (L2) speakers' competence in turn management has focused primarily on the nature of interaction produced in OPI's. Johnson and Tyler (1998) found that the order, length, and distribution of turns in OPI's was largely fixed, demonstrating that the type of interaction produced in the OPI format did not resemble natural conversation. The order of

turns in the OPI was a steady, fixed flow of interviewer questions followed by interviewee responses. In fact, in the specific OPI sample they analyzed, the interviewee's five attempts to ask questions, in violation of the imposed fixed turn order, were only responded to directly once, indicating that local management of turn order was absent to such an extent that the adjacency pair format of conversation was violated. Adjacency pairs are sequences in interaction in which the first pair part, such as a question, projects the second pair part, the response (Sacks *et al.* 1974). In natural conversation, it is uncommon to see failure to respond to a question (Pomerantz 1984). The fact that the interviewers in Johnson and Tyler's (1998) study failed to respond to the interviewee's questions underscores the rigidity of the turn-taking system of the OPI. Additionally, the length of turns in the OPI showed a strong, fixed imbalance. The interviewer's relatively short questions were followed by the interviewee's relatively long responses.

Bearden's (1998) analysis of the discourse features of novice level speakers in OPI's showed that novice speakers may not have sufficiently developed skills to be able to participate competently in turn-taking. The lack of competence in the resources related to turn-management may imply that the learner's abilities in speaker selection are underdeveloped. Speaker selection refers to the management of transition between speakers. Speaker selection addresses how turns are allocated in interaction. In other words, speaker selection refers to the interactional structure that enables precisely timed change of turns. Change of speakers generally occurs at a "transition relevance point"—any point in a speaker's turn that seems to be a potential end to the turn at which another participant might start speaking or take the floor. Markers of a transition

relevance point include, for example, the end of a sentence, or an intonation cue, or a pause. Sacks *et al.* (1974) posit that at the transition relevance point, there are generally three options for turn allocation. At this point, the current speaker may select self by continuing to hold the floor. He may select the other by means, for example, of a question or invocation. The third option is that the other, non-current speaker selects self; i.e. takes the floor.

In general conversation, a Novice-level speaker may not be able to be other-selected, to other-select, or to self-select in interaction. Bearden (1998) shows an example of a Novice-Low speaker who remains silent when asked questions, apparently unable to be other-selected, as seen in excerpt 1-2.

Excerpt 1-2: Leslie (Novice Low) (Bearden 1998: 25)

1	Interviewer -	En comparación.. Ah ha, ¿y um te gusta Middlebury? ¿Estás contenta en Middlebury? *In comparison. Ah ha, and do you like Middlebury? Are you happy at Middlebury?*
2	Leslie -	Sí *Yes*
3	Interviewer -	¿Y por qué te gusta? *And why do you like it?*
4→	Leslie -	(silence)
5	Interviewer -	Um, ¿cómo son las clase para ti? *Um, how are the classes for you?*
6	Leslie -	Muy bien? *Very good?*
7	Interviewer -	Um hum. ¿Y qué clases tienes? *Um hum. And what classes do you have?*
8→	Leslie -	(silence)
9	Interviewer -	Español *Spanish*
10	Leslie -	Um, geography

In excerpt 1.2, the learner's silence in lines 4 and 8 shows a failure to provide the second pair part of an adjacency pair, indicating a lack of fully developed interactional resources in turn management and speaker selection. Bearden attributes the learner's silence to her decision to opt out of the negotiation following her inability to identify the nominated topic.

Riggenbach (1998) explored the notion of adopting learner language portfolios as a means for assessing learners' oral proficiency rather than using the OPI. As part of their language portfolios, NNS of English were asked to tape record conversations with NS of English whom they knew well. Riggenbach analyzed an audiotaped conversation between a Japanese NS enrolled in an English as a Second Language course and her native English-speaking roommate with whom she had lived for six months. Riggenbach's analysis revealed that the learner was able to participate in turn management to a relatively competent degree. The initial question posed by the NS to the NNS was followed by over 40 lines of talk in which the interlocutors negotiated the meaning of the initial question and subsequent contributions. Despite the great number of turns needed before the NNS was able to provide the second pair part, Riggenbach maintains that the interaction was ultimately successful in terms of the negotiation of meaning and, incidentally, as a locus for language learning.

The second area of interactional resources proposed by He and Young (1998) is **topic management**. Topic management includes the distribution of rights that interlocutors have for introducing and changing topics. The distribution of rights varies according to the nature of the specific interactive practice in which they are engaged. Additionally, different interactive practices

may have different average lengths of time that topics are maintained between topic shifts and preferences for certain topics accompanied by dispreferences for others.

The research on second language speakers' roles in topic management is limited primarily to studies on discourse in OPI's. Johnson and Tyler (1988), in a study designed to show that the language produced in OPI's is not comparable to spontaneous conversation, analyzed topic management in an OPI. In spontaneous conversation topics are generated and negotiated in a locally managed system. In general, new topics are generated in a stepwise fashion from elements in the prior discourse. Thus, the development of the next topic is shaped throughout the conversation by the previous topics discussed. Additionally, Jones and Gerard (1967) point out that the initiation of topics is a shared right. Therefore, a relatively equally balanced distribution of topic initiation is expected among participants.

Johnson and Tyler (1988) found features of topic management in the OPI that differed greatly from spontaneous interaction. In the OPI, the interviewer's goal for the interaction is to obtain a ratable sample. Consequently, certain speech genres, such as narration or supporting an opinion, need to be elicited. The successful elicitation of these features skews the flow of topics towards a more contrived transition in which prior discourse may be incorporated, but often is not or is done so in a very tangential manner. In addition, topic transitions, especially between the different sections of the OPI, are often explicitly bracketed with announcements concerning the nature of each section. Ultimately, claim Johnson and Tyler, it is the "prescribed format of the interview, not the emergent

discourse, that controls both the local and overall structure of the exchange" (p. 44).

Bearden (1998), in a proposed revision to the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Guidelines for Novice Speakers, found that Novice-Low speakers made no attempts to initiate topics, while Novice-Mid speakers made occasional attempts to nominate topics. Novice-High speakers made relatively more attempts to initiate topics, often seeking assistance in determining key vocabulary related to the new topic.

Another set of findings in Bearden's study concerns the troublesome role of the interviewer in topic management due to conflicting guidelines related to the interviewer's role in negotiation. Bearden points to the contradictory messages that OPI interviewers receive in training. On the one hand, interviewers are told that the OPI should resemble natural conversation and therefore can include repair and negotiation of meaning moves that are typical of everyday interaction when interactants attempt to deal with obstacles to understanding. On the other hand, however, interviewers are asked to provide no vocabulary to interviewees and to feign being monolingual speakers of the target language in an effort to eliminate the interviewees' use of their native languages. The consequence of these conflicting guidelines is that interviewer behavior varies widely and their behavior may influence their roles in topic management. Interviewers who place more emphasis on not providing lexical assistance to interviewees may consequently engage in abrupt topic shifts as a means to avoid or ultimately ignore obstacles to communication, as seen in excerpt 1-3 from her study.

Excerpt 1-3: Marissa (Novice Mid) (Bearden 1998: 25-26)

1	Interviewer -	¿Qué, dime, qué llevas? ¿Qué ropa llevas? ¿Qué es esto? *What, tell me, what are you wearing? What clothes are you wearing? What is this?*
2	Marissa -	Uh blue jeans, uh camisas *Uh blue jeans, uh shirts*
3	Interviewer -	Um hum. ¿Y eso? *Um hum. And that?*
4	Marissa -	Um ... sneakers.
5	Interviewer -	Pero esos no son sneakers. *But those aren't sneakers.*
6→	Marissa -	Um pero cómo se dice uh shoes? *Um, but how do you say shoes?*
7→	Interviewer -	Ok, sabes los colores. ¿Qué color es éste? *Okay, you know colors. What color is this?*
8	Marissa -	Sue, suete *Swea, sweate*
9	Interviewer -	Um hum, ¿y el color? *Uh hum, and the color?*

In excerpt 1-3, the interviewee's request for lexical assistance in line 6 is ignored by the interviewer who instead conducts an abrupt topic change in line 7. In not providing the second pair part of the question and answer adjacency pair initiated by the interviewee, the behavior of the interviewer violates the general practices of interaction and, not surprisingly, confuses the interviewee who is unable to recognize the topic change immediately. If Johnson and Tyler's (1998) study demonstrates that topic management in the OPIs is led by the exigencies of the interview format, Bearden's (1998) study shows that the prescribed rules of the OPI may lead to violations of rules of interaction and of topic management.

The third category of interactional resources includes **rhetorical scripts**. Rhetorical scripts are "sequences of speech acts that help define a particular interactive practice" (He and Young 1998:6). Ranney (1992) defines scripts as a

type of background knowledge that consists of the sequences of actions and/or speech acts that form a routine activity or speech event. The restaurant script, for example, consists of the sequence of acts that a customer and waiter follow in order to reach the goal of providing the customer with a meal as well as the cultural conventions concerning the roles of the customer and waiter (Schank and Abelson 1977). Although some degree of competence in the grammatical and lexical components of the language is necessary to engage in a particular interactive practice successfully, the speaker must also have knowledge of the cultural expectations and speech acts that make up a practice and their routine order. Kramsch (1986) asserts that the language learner's "difficulty in ordering the legendary cup of coffee in a French restaurant" is based more on the lack of understanding of the specific social roles that are at play between waiters and customers in France than on lack of knowledge of appropriate grammar and vocabulary (p. 368).

Saville-Troike and Kleifgen (1986, cited in Ranney 1992) found that familiarity with a script can serve an important function in allowing language learners to make sense of events despite limited language skills. Their study of non-native English speaking schoolchildren in the United States also showed that the students' reliance on their culturally specific scripts was a source of miscommunication when the native scripts differed greatly from the American scripts.

Ranney (1992) analyzed scripts of routine office visits of Laotian Hmong refugee patients with North American doctors. This specific configuration was chosen in part due to the vast differences in cultural expectations between traditional and western views on disease and healing. Using a variety of tasks to

elicit scripts of medical consultations, Ranney compared native English-speaking and native Hmong-speaking students' knowledge and perceptions of discourse norms for medical encounters in the United States. She found that despite their highly advanced degree of linguistic competence in English and their relatively lengthy times of residence in the United States (2-11 years), the native Hmong speakers had "less well-established scripts than the native [English], speakers" (42). In addition, the Hmong speakers placed greater emphasis on requesting medication and less emphasis on receiving a diagnosis, tendencies that appear to be based more on the norms of patient/doctor interaction in Southeast Asia.

The final two interactional resources that He and Young cite are the specific **lexis** and **syntactic structures** of interactive practices and the **means for signaling boundaries** of an interactive practice. These interactional resources have not received substantial attention in the field of SLA. Young (2003), in a study on interactions in Teaching Assistant (TA) office hours, found that the specific lexis used by the TA and his student clearly marked their roles as expert and novice, respectively. In an interaction between a TA of Italian and a student, for example, the TA used technical linguistic terminology, such as "preposition," "direct object pronoun," and "conjugated," while the student used no technical vocabulary, instead referring to "words" and "new forms." Young's findings support the notion of differing knowledge of the interactional resource of practice specific lexis in expert/novice interaction.

Young and Miller (2004) address the development of knowledge of the means for signaling the boundaries of an interactive practice in their study of English as a Second Language writing conferences between a NNS student and his instructor. The specific moves that constituted the opening and closing

moves of the revision talk practice were identified as the display of attending to the paper and the instructor's identification of the problem as the opening moves, as well as the instructor's evaluation and turning the paper over as the closing moves. The first time that the instructor and the student met, it was clear that the student did not follow the shift into revision talk, meaning that he was not able to recognize the signal of the opening boundary. By their third meeting, however, the student closely followed the opening move and was able to identify some problems in the text himself, indicating growth in the use of the interactional resource of the means for signaling boundaries.

1.1.4.2 Co-construction and L2 Speakers

He and Young's (1998) conceptualization of IC underscores the co-constructed nature of interaction and the importance of recognizing the roles that all interactants play in co-creating meaning. Research on NNSs and their roles in interaction has been conducted based on various theoretical backgrounds and aims, not just from the perspective of analysis of IC.

The Interactionist Hypothesis, for example, is a theory of second language acquisition that places the locus of acquisition in interaction, specifically in the conversational adjustments that take place when learners face communication difficulties. The many researchers involved in the creation and development of the Interactionist Hypothesis, including Long (1981, 1983), Varonis and Gass (1985), Swain (1985), and Gass and Varonis (1994), have focused their attention on the negotiation moves that occur in NS/NNS and NNS/NNS interaction. The negotiation moves are instigated by moves that indicate difficulties in comprehension or a recognition of potential difficulties. The expression of a

negotiation routine leads presumably to highly co-constructed segments of interaction in which the participants work together to overcome obstacles to communication. Proponents of the Interactionist Hypothesis claim that, through such co-constructed negotiation sequences, learners become able to understand previously misunderstood utterances, thereby accessing comprehensible input, a necessary component in the process of language acquisition in this theory.

Ultimately the focus on co-construction by researchers in the Interactionist Hypothesis is limited to negotiation sequences in which the language itself is in some way the topic of conversation. As Donato (1994) points out, the focus in the Interactionist Hypothesis is primarily message transmission and reception. The perspective views the social context as merely a setting for potential comprehensible input. This limited appreciation of the social context is an element of research in SLA that is currently being called into question. Firth and Wagner (1997) are often credited with opening the discussion in the field of SLA over how to break away from the dominant cognitive orientation in order to recognize the importance of context and interaction in the process of SLA. A competing perspective on language acquisition, Sociocultural Theory, focuses more on the social aspects of communication and analyzes the relationship between co-construction and the context in which the communication takes place. Sociocultural Theory, based on work by the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1987), maintains a social origin for all higher cognitive functions. In other words, higher psychological processes arise as a result of the interaction that occurs between individuals engaged in social interaction.

Given Sociocultural Theory's emphasis on the importance of social interaction, it is not surprising that much of the research on co-construction

involving NNSs investigates Sociocultural Theory's claims. Donato (1994), for example, analyzed interaction between third-semester French students preparing for a presentation and illustrated how the learners provided guiding support to each other in their interaction. Their collective scaffolding was similar to the type of scaffolding seen in prototypical novice/expert interaction. The novice speakers were able to pool their linguistic resources to co-construct an appropriate French structure as shown in excerpt 1-4.

Excerpt 1-4: Collective Scaffolding (Donato 1994: 44, English translation added)

1	Speaker 1 -	… and then I'll say… tu as souvenu notre anniversaire de marriage… or should I say mon anniversaire? *… and then I'll say… you *have remembered our wedding anniversary… or should I say my anniversary?*
2	Speaker 2 -	Tu as… *You *have…*
3	Speaker 3 -	Tu as… *You *have…*
4	Speaker 1 -	Tu as souvenu…"you remembered?" *You *have remembered…you remembered?*
5	Speaker 3 -	Yeah, but isn't that reflexive? Tu t'as… *Yeah, but isn't that reflexive? You *have…*
6	Speaker 1 -	Ah, tu t'as souvenu *Ah, you *have remembered*
7	Speaker 2 -	Oh, it's tu es *Oh, it's you *have*
8	Speaker 3 -	Tu es *You *have*
9	Speaker 1 -	Tu es, tu es, tu… *You *have, you *have, you…*
10	Speaker 3	Tu t'es *You have*
11	Speaker 1	Tu t'es souvenu *You have remembered*

In excerpt 1-4, all three interactants contribute turns that allow them to render the initially agrammatical version of “you remembered” to the target form. Arriving at the target form involved changing the auxiliary verb, adding a reflexive pronoun, and synthesizing the changes with the initial utterance. The students engage in a collective effort to arrive at the target form and no individual student appears to be able to construct the term on his or her own.

In another study focusing on Sociocultural Theory, Antón and DiCamilla (1998) analyzed the role that the L1 appears to play with learners engaged in collaborative interactions in the second language classroom. They found that the use of the L1 constitutes an important tool in allowing the students to co-construct effectively. In terms of co-construction, the L1 is used to provide effective scaffolding for each other, and to establish intersubjectivity.

Other studies that analyze co-construction involving one or more NNSs are based more directly on the concept of IC. Young and Miller (2004) analyzed interactions between a NS instructor of English as a Second Language writing and one of her students, a NS of Vietnamese. He and Young analyzed weekly writing conferences between the two study participants in order to determine the pattern of the specific discursive practice of the writing conference, the roles that the interactants played in the practice, and how their discursive roles evolved over time. They found that the instructor was responsible for most of the moves in the revision talk in the first conference, including the moves that identified the problems, explained the need for revision, offered a possible revision, requested that the student write the revision, and evaluated the original and the revised form. The student’s participation was limited to writing the revision, a move that was only performed upon receiving specific direction to do so from the instructor.

Clearly the co-constructed nature of the practice was skewed towards much greater responsibility for the success of the interaction in the hands of the instructor. Over the course of the four conferences, however, the responsibility shifted towards a more evenly balanced distribution, as the learner began to initiate revision talk, identifying possible problems and offering candidate solutions. Ultimately it can be stated that the learner became more able to participate fully in co-constructing revisions as he became more interactionally competent in the interactive practice of revision talk in writing conferences.

Hall (1995) analyzed the nature of the interaction created in a first-year high school Spanish classroom. Her study focused on the discursive establishment and management of topic in the interactive practice that the teacher labeled "practicing speaking." The teacher stated that he incorporated this practice into his classrooms as a means of developing his students' skills in interacting in natural conversations in the target language. Despite the teacher's intentions, Hall found that in fact the potential for co-construction in the interaction was compromised by the manner in which the teacher used linguistic resources for creating and maintaining topical coherence. Rather than using resources such as opening utterances, ellipses, and the joining of related lexical items to establish topics and create expectations for topic development and transition, the teacher made infrequent use of these resources, thereby obscuring the topic of conversation from the students. The topics were also muddled by the teacher's frequent repetition of information and unexpected collocation of oddly connected lexical items, a behavior that limited the potential for establishing a more complex discursive topic. Much of the interaction in the

discursive practice of “practicing speaking” consisted of the conventional teaching pattern of teacher initiation, student response, and teacher evaluation.

The development of topic within this pattern was labeled “local lexical chaining” by Hall. With local lexical chaining, the repetition of the previous utterance, which links lexical items, is the process that creates coherence. There is no greater topical goal other than practicing a lexical item or grammatical structure. There is no issue to discuss nor even a social agenda concerning having the classmates become better acquainted. The students’ occasional attempts to establish or determine a larger issue to which to orient were ignored by the teacher, who made moves to reestablish the floor quickly. Hall indicates that the students, eventually recognizing the lack of a larger topical agenda, made fewer moves to co-construct global topical coherence as the year went on. Hall questions the efficacy of the teacher’s interactive practice of “practicing speaking” in supporting the students’ development in natural interaction, given its vast limitations in terms of topical development. The students and the teacher did not work in concert to co-construct topics; rather, the teacher led the students in his interactive practice, creating confusion and annoyance on the part of the students. The title of the article, “Aw, man, where you goin’?” is taken from a quote from one of the students and captures the feelings of confusion created by the teacher’s interactive practice.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF STUDY

The purpose of the study described in the following chapters is twofold. The first goal is to provide a more fully developed description of the construct of IC. The second objective of this study is to trace the development of one

learner's IC through the course of a year in a study abroad setting. The research presented here approaches the issue of IC from both of the perspectives offered by He and Young (1998).

First, to support He and Young's contention that IC can be understood as a fifth component of CC, the study examines a learner's displayed skills in turn-taking and topic management, and the degree to which expected interactional resources appear to be lacking or underdeveloped. In addition, this study proposes the inclusion of alignment moves as an important grouping of interactional resources. Alignment refers to the ways in which interlocutors demonstrate their intersubjectivity, or shared understanding. In other words, through alignment, interlocutors show each other that they are understanding each other and are being understood. Alignment activity entails a varied constellation of features of interaction, including, among others, assessments, backchannels, formulations (rephrasing what has been said), and collaborative completions (completing the other interactants' utterances) (Nofsinger 1991). Alignment activity can also include moves that add additional information that is in harmony with the previous speaker's move. These alignment moves index shared understanding and the ability to adopt the other's point of view, and the ability to speak in the other's voice.

Second, to further examine the co-constructed nature of interactional competence, the present study analyzes the roles that the native speaker (NS) and the nonnative speaker (NNS) play in interaction, scrutinizing the asymmetrical nature of the interactions and the apparent distribution of rights and obligations between the interactants. As is the case of the interactional resources, the evolution of these roles is examined over a nine-month period.

In order to investigate these issues, data were collected from a native speaker of English studying Spanish in an academic-year study abroad program in Granada, Spain. Given the basic assumption that IC is developed through interaction (Hall 1995), the SA setting is preferable to the foreign language classroom setting given the greater opportunities SA offers for interaction with NS. The bulk of the data collected consists of videotapes of conversational interaction between the learner and a NS of Spanish. Conversations were videotaped a total of six times: at the beginning, middle, and end of each semester. The analysis of the data focuses primarily on interactional resources discussed in the field of Conversation Analysis, including the learner's displayed skills in claiming, holding, and relinquishing the floor. This description entails analysis of adjacency pairs, topic initiation and coherence, turns at talk, length of turns, and speaker selection, move types that are described in Chapter 2 of the present work. In order to obtain more information on the types of interactions and experiences the subject had in the study abroad setting, ethnographic observations were conducted by means of language contact journals kept by the learner, occasional interviews with the learner, and field notes based on observation of the learner in informal settings. Oral proficiency assessments were conducted at the beginning and the end of the program in order to provide a widely accepted measure as a point of comparison.

This research is valuable because it helps characterize and develop the notion of IC, a concept that is becoming more central in SLA studies as researchers move towards recognizing the importance of viewing language as a socially constituted, interactive phenomenon. In addition, it provides valuable

insights into facets of the development of the learner's speech in the study abroad setting.

Chapter 2 of the present study provides a summary of the literature that is relevant to the discussion of IC. The first section provides background literature on a number of theories and practices that have been instrumental in informing and shaping the construct of IC. IC appears to have entered the field in part due to dissatisfaction with the prevailing method of oral proficiency assessment, the OPI. For this reason, the first section of Chapter 2 traces the history of the OPI. The first section of Chapter 2 ends with a discussion of the seminal work conducted in areas of linguistics that have been key to allowing the reconceptualization of CC into IC, including Ethnography of Speaking and Conversation Analysis.

The second section of Chapter 2 outlines various theories of acquisition that have been proposed as a means of understanding the acquisition of IC. The theories discussed include Vygostkyan Sociocultural Theory (Lantolf and Appel 1994; Lantolf 2000), Lave and Wenger's (1991) construct of Legitimate Peripheral Participation, and Rogoff's (1990) notion of apprenticeship in thinking. The chapter ends with a presentation of the research questions that are analyzed in this dissertation.

Chapter 3 provides details of the methodology of the study. The chapter first presents the methodology of data collection procedures, including detailed information on the two main participants in the study, the learner and the NS. The chapter then provides a description of the procedure used to analyze the data.

There are two analysis chapters in the study. Chapter 4 approaches IC as a type of competence that entails the ability to deploy interactional resources effectively in conversation. The NNS's moves in speaker selection, alignment activity, and topic management are discussed. In addition, trends in the NNS's development of the interactional resources over the course of the year are presented.

Chapter 5 approaches IC from the point of view that all interaction is jointly constructed by participants drawing on interactional resources in order to achieve communication. Building on the findings in Chapter 4 concerning the NNS's interactional resources, Chapter 5 examines the roles that the NS and the NNS play in the interaction, and how the roles evolve over the course of the year. In addition, this chapter examines the interactions through the lens of Lave and Wenger's (1991) construct of Legitimate Peripheral Participation. By focusing on the growing role that the learner plays in the interaction and showing a move away from the initial orientation to the novice/expert paradigm, the chapter elucidates the NNS's movement towards full participation in interaction.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents a summary of the findings including the insights into the construct of IC provided by the analysis. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the design of the study and outlines suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

IC is a concept that has only recently been incorporated into the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). This chapter presents background literature relevant to the topic of IC. Section 2.2 discusses a number of theories and practices that have been instrumental in informing and shaping the construct of IC. Section 2.3 presents various theories of learning that have been used to provide a model for understanding the acquisition of IC, including Vygotskyan Sociocultural Theory and similarly motivated models of acquisition. Section 2.4 summarizes the motivations behind the current research project and presents the specific research questions that are addressed herein.

2.2 Influences on the Construct of IC

In order to understand the construct of IC and its place in SLA, it is worthwhile to analyze the dynamics that brought it into the field, because it is only recently that this construct has been invoked in studies in SLA. One of the motivations behind the incorporation of IC in SLA is that researchers in the field have come to recognize the weaknesses inherent in the currently accepted practices in the assessment of L2 learners' oral proficiency: namely, the OPI. The recognition of these weaknesses evolved from the application of theories and methodologies in other fields of linguistic inquiry to the discourse produced specifically in the OPI and, more generally, in L2 learners' speech. Section 2.2

analyzes first the construct of the OPI, then follows with discussion of various relevant approaches to the analysis of interaction. Section 2.2.1 traces the development of the oral proficiency interview, including its inception and the criticism leveled against it. Section 2.2.2 discusses the Ethnography of Speaking, a field of linguistics that forms the original base for the revolutionary changes in the understanding of competence in a language that were discussed in the previous chapter. Finally, section 2.2.3 discusses Conversation Analysis, the principal method of analysis of interaction that has been used in the criticism of the OPI and in the data analysis presented here.

2.2.1 The Oral Proficiency Interview

One of the challenges that the field of foreign language education has long faced is the issue of how to assess learners' oral proficiency in a second or foreign language. In the language classroom, accurate assessment of learners' abilities is important for evaluating course performance and setting realistic and appropriate goals for different course levels. Additionally, assessment is an issue of importance in non-academic settings; for example, potential employers who seek to determine if a foreign language learner has the language skills necessary for adequately performing a job.

The Foreign Service Institute (FSI) of the U.S. Department of State is perhaps the most influential potential employer of language learners in the United States. Due to the need to assess the foreign language skills of its own candidates, the FSI has played a key role in the creation of assessment techniques and scales that have reached far beyond the boundaries of its walls. Until the early 1950's, language skills assessment consisted primarily of written,

discrete point items. These testing procedures, however, were found by the FSI to be ineffective in terms of evaluating the actual performance of potential employees in the field (Johnson 2001; Clark and Clifford 1988). Consequently, the FSI sought to develop new testing procedures that analyzed the actual performance of test takers in verbal communication. The result of their efforts to examine how well a testee would potentially be able to perform in an actual assignment overseas was the development of "a series of verbally defined levels of general proficiency" in speaking (Johnson 2001: 6). Thus was born the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), consisting of "a carefully structured face-to-face conversation between the examinee and a native speaker of the test language" (Clark and Clifford 1988: 131), from which levels ranging from elementary (1) to native or bilingual (5) proficiency were determined. These levels were later modified to include plus levels, moving from the 5 point FSI scale to the 11 point scale commonly referred to as the ILR scale, based on its inception at the Interagency Language Roundtable.

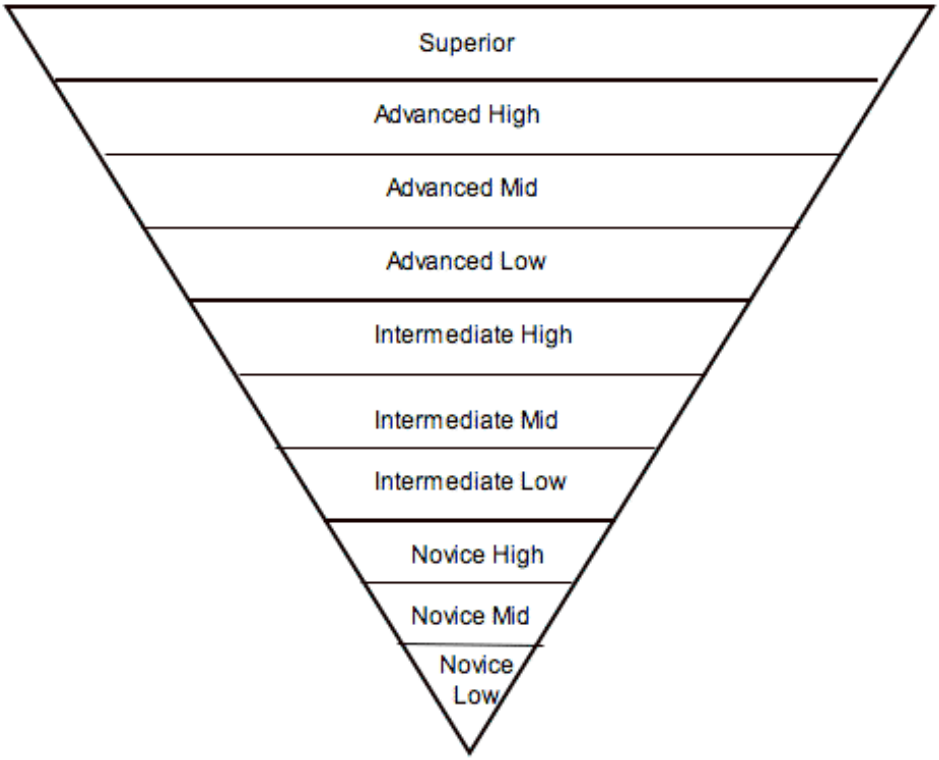
The OPI and the ILR scale quickly spread from the FSI to other governmental agencies whose employees often needed to have strong oral skills in foreign languages, including especially security-oriented agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Defense Language Institute (Johnson 2001). In addition, the OPI was adopted by the newly founded Peace Corps to assess the oral proficiency levels of volunteers in preparation for their overseas assignments. This last agency was to become the bridge that brought the OPI and the ILR scale from the governmental setting to the private sector. In the late 1960's the Peace Corps contracted the Educational Testing Service (ETS) to work with them on the

development and implementation of an assessment program for volunteers that would be used at training sites worldwide (Johnson 2001).

The introduction of the OPI and the ILR scale to non-governmental agencies led to a number of grants and workshops that, in turn, led to a refinement of some aspects of the OPI and the scale. Most importantly for the field of SLA were modifications to the scale proposed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). In the early 1980's, cognizant of the fact that few high school and university students achieve a rating beyond the level 3 on the ILR scale, ACTFL issued a new scale that provided finer-grained distinctions at the lower end (0–2+) of the ILR scale. The new scale used a low, mid, and high system for the levels of Novice and Intermediate, along with Advanced and Superior. A later reworking of the scale expanded the Advanced level to also include the low, mid, and high distinctions.

The rating system devised by ACTFL is often represented as an inverted pyramid, with the narrow tip of the pyramid corresponding to the limited skills of the novice speaker, and the broad end of the pyramid representing the full range of skills of a superior speaker. The rating scale is represented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 ACTFL Oral Proficiency Rating Scale (based on Larsen, 1987)



At present, the OPI is the most widely accepted and most influential measure of oral proficiency. Having suffered numerous manifestations and revisions, the OPI, as its name suggests, is currently conducted in an interview format. The interview consists of four phases that aim to put the interviewee at ease, determine a base level of proficiency, determine a ceiling level of proficiency, and wind down the interaction (Johnson 2001). Because the OPI is an interview, most of the interaction consists of interviewer questions followed by interviewee responses. Additionally, role play scenarios may be used in order to

evaluate certain language tasks, primarily in interviews with speakers at higher levels of proficiency.

The evaluation of the language sample elicited in the OPI focuses on a number of factors that, together, provide a global rating. For example, the revised ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines for Speaking (Breiner-Sanders *et al.* 2000) indicate that speakers at the Intermediate-Low level show evidence of the following characteristics in their speech:

> Intermediate-Low speakers express personal meaning by combining and recombining into short statements what they know and what they hear from their interlocutors. Their utterances are often filled with hesitancy and inaccuracies as they search for appropriate linguistic forms and vocabulary while attempting to give form to the message. Their speech is characterized by frequent pauses, ineffective reformulations and self-corrections. Their pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax are strongly influenced by their first language but, in spite of frequent misunderstandings that require repetition or rephrasing, Intermediate-Low speakers can generally be understood by sympathetic interlocutors, particularly by those accustomed to dealing with non-natives (16).

Evident in the above description is a focus on fluency, pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and comprehensibility. Additionally, the description addresses the context, content, and function of topics and tasks in which speakers would be able to participate and the relative level of success of the participation. Assessment of the speakers' performance is based on a global view of their manifested ability and not on each factor taken as a discrete indicator. As Johnson (2001) indicates, in assessing the final rating, strong performance in one area, such as grammar, does not compensate for weak performance in another, such as vocabulary (15).

In sum, the OPI is an integrative evaluation of second language speakers' oral proficiency that, as the ETS maintains, "tests speaking ability in a real-life

context, a conversation" (ETS 1982: 13, cited in Johnson 2001: 35). The OPI has played a prominent role in the field of SLA due to its status as the most widely accepted evaluation of oral proficiency. Currently, the OPI enjoys a level of acceptance that allows it to function as a standard measure in SLA studies. In addition to its prominence in SLA research, the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Guidelines themselves have been highly influential in shaping curriculum and pedagogical practices in foreign language education.

Given the OPI's prominent role in shaping both curriculum in foreign language education and research in SLA, it comes as no surprise that the OPI has also been the target of multivaried criticism. In her summary of the critiques leveled against the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines, Liskin-Gasparro (2003) divides the criticism of the OPI and the ACTFL Guidelines into two broad categories: criticism concerning the validity of the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Guidelines and criticism of the format of the OPI and the type of language sample that results from said format.

This second category of criticism is of interest to the research presented here because of the conversation that it has sparked in the field of SLA. Criticism of the OPI has focused on the ETS's claim that the OPI simulates casual conversation. In fact, the OPI's detractors claim that the interview format differs substantially from the type of interaction present in spontaneous conversation. Johnson (2001), for example, found that the type of discourse produced in the OPI lacks many features of such conversation. She based her analysis on work performed in the field of Conversation Analysis concerning interactional features of conversation. The turn-taking system, for example, refers to the unwritten rules that govern the way that speakers coordinate talk in

a way that minimizes overlap, interruption, and gaps (Sacks *et al.* 1974). The coordination of general conversation is locally managed, meaning that turn lengths, distribution, and order are not fixed; rather they are coordinated as the speakers converse. In OPIs, however, there is a strict order of interviewer question followed by interviewee answer, thus implying that an OPI is distinct from casual conversation. Based on the analysis of these and other interactional features, Johnson (2001) concluded that, despite claims to the contrary, the OPI has features that clearly mark it as an interview and distinguish it from casual conversation.

Van Lier (1989) also maintains that OPIs specifically, and interviews in general, cannot be said to resemble casual conversation closely. He found that the interview format of the OPI creates a type of interaction that is "asymmetrical and pseudosocial" (501), characteristics that are not consistent with the nature of interaction seen in conversation in general. He and Young (1998) maintain that OPIs are an example of institutional discourse. Like Johnson (2001), they contend that turn-taking and topic management in the OPI is predetermined. In general conversation, these features are locally managed, meaning that they are essentially worked out by the speakers as they are speaking, not by a predetermined structure. In the OPI, however, turn-taking and topic management are not locally managed. Instead they are predetermined and controlled almost exclusively by the interviewer. As such, the OPI is a type of speech event that clearly differs from a conversation.

An additional key difference posited by He and Young (1998) is the issue of goal orientation. Conversation is generally not specifically goal-oriented. Although on occasion speakers may have a specific topic they wish to broach,

related to a specific goal, this feature is not a general characteristic of all conversations. Institutional discourse, on the other hand, typically occurs precisely due to a specific goal of the interlocutors. In an OPI, there are obvious goals present, including the interviewer's goal to obtain a ratable sample and to determine floor and ceiling levels, and the interviewee's goal to perform well. Given the clear goal orientation of the OPI, the contention that it resembles ordinary conversation is seriously called into question.

It is clear, from this short synopsis, that substantial criticism has been leveled against the OPI due to the format of the language sample elicitation. What is of interest in the present study, however, is not the question of the appropriateness of the OPI. Instead, the present study was motivated by the dialogue that the criticism has sparked in the field of SLA. The dissatisfaction with the type of language produced in the OPI and the aspect of communicative competence privileged in assessing the proficiency of the examinees, particularly their grammatical competence, has compelled researchers to revisit the issue of what communicative competence is deemed to be. The issue that has arisen as a result of these discussions is that of the nature of communicative competence.

2.2.2 The Ethnography of Speaking

The **ethnography of speaking** is an approach to language analysis that is inspired by both linguistics and anthropology (Johnson 2001: 42). The merger of the two fields provides a perspective on language and society that allows for the study of "communication as a whole," entailing analysis of the structure, functions, appropriateness, and diversity of language taken within the context of the community of speakers (Hymes 1974: 9). As was discussed above in section

1.2.1, Hymes's view of language was a reaction against prevailing trends in linguistics to focus only on the form or structure of language while ignoring the functions and context of language use, thus ultimately ignoring society (Hymes 1974: 77).

Hymes enumerates the differences between traditional structural linguistics and the newer (at the time) approaches to the study of language and communication in context. The prevailing structural focus in the 1960's was most clearly articulated (and supported) in a quote by Chomsky (1965: 3), reproduced here as quoted in Hymes (1974)

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly, and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance. (76-77)

Chomsky's quote underscores the cognitive, context-less perspective on language prevailing at the time. By the time Hymes wrote *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* in 1974, however, there was a movement in some linguistic circles away from the construct of the "ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community," towards a focus on function in a language. The focus of the new approach varied from the traditional approach in a number of ways. The traditional approach focused on the structure of a language, as its grammar, while the functional approach analyzed ways of speaking (Hymes 1974: 79). Actual use of the language is of first concern for the "functional" linguistics, while traditional linguistics places primacy on the analysis of the code (ibid: 79). Additionally, the traditional approach to linguistics uses terms such as "fluent speaker" and "speech

community" without self-awareness as to the complexity of such concepts. The more functional approach to linguistics, with its corresponding focus on context, does not accept such concepts as given; rather it presumes the need to investigate such fundamental concepts to make them meaningful (ibid: 79).

The contrasts listed above constitute some of the ways in which these two general approaches to linguistics differ. If the above features constitute the foci and tools of the two strains of linguistics, what then are their corresponding goals? Hymes states that the goal of traditional linguistics is to explain "universal properties of the human mind" (ibid: 77). The goal of functional linguistics, or to be more precise, ethnography of speaking, is "to complete the discovery of the sphere of 'rule-governed' creativity with respect to language, and to characterize the abilities of persons in this regard [without prejudice to the specific biological basis of the abilities]" (ibid: 92). Rather than a Chomskyan focus on the sentence, ethnography of speaking goes "beyond sentences to speech acts," and seeks to relate language meaningfully to situations (ibid: 92). The analysis of language must move beyond grammar because "rules of appropriateness beyond grammar govern speech" (ibid: 94). Ethnography of speaking is essentially a descriptive theory.

Hymes contends that the analysis of language in use can be approached by a multi-level system of foci, including the **speech community, speech situation, speech events,** and **speech acts**. A **speech community** is not simply all the speakers of the same language, as one might assume. Instead, a speech community may be understood as "a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (ibid: 51). At the next level one addresses the **speech situation**, which includes contexts such as

“ceremonies, fights, hunts, meals, and lovemaking” (ibid: 51), to name a few, all of which will likely entail both verbal and nonverbal events.

The next two levels, speech events and speech acts, are the main focus of analysis within an ethnography of speaking approach. The ultimate goal of the approach is to determine the unwritten rules governing the characteristics and contexts of speech events and speech acts (ibid: 52). **Speech events** are “activities or aspects of activities that are directly governed by rules and norms for the use of speech” (ibid: 52). Examples of speech events include conversations, lectures, and interviews. The turns that take place within the speech event comprise **speech acts**, which include acts such as commands, greetings, threats, and jokes. An example of a description of language that includes all four levels would be analysis of a compliment (speech act) embedded within a conversation (speech event) taking place at a party (speech situation) for female university students who are members of a sorority (speech community).

Hymes proposes a mnemonic that that outlines a model for analysis for speech events and speech acts: SPEAKING. **S** refers to the **setting** and **scene** of the speech situation, comprising the time, place, and physical circumstances, in addition to the psychological tone of the scene, including perhaps festive or serious (ibid: 55-56). **P** entails the **participants**, which may in limited instances be understood simply as speaker and hearer, but more often will take into account other elements of their roles in the interaction in addition to their roles in the community in general. **E** stands for **ends**, implying both the goals and the outcomes of the interaction. **A** is the **act sequence**, or the form and order of the event. **K** refers to the **key**, meaning the “tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is

done" (ibid: 57). Some examples of the key include mock, serious, or sarcastic, tones that may be expressed through both verbal and nonverbal means, such as vowel length, syllable stress, gestures, and posture. **I** stands for **instrumentalities**, involving both the channels and forms of speech. "Channels" implies the choice between mediums of transmission of speech, including, for example, oral or written, and within those channels are subsets such as in the oral channel, speaking, chanting, and singing. Forms of speech include, for example, register, variety, and code. **N** refers to the **norms of interaction** and **norms of interpretation**. Including among norms of interaction are, for example, restrictions against speaking loudly in a library or church (in some speech communities). Norms of interpretation are especially relevant in crosscultural encounters wherein the norms of interaction may vary, leading to misinterpretations. Berry (1994) found, for example, that the norms of interaction vary between Spanish and English speakers in terms of tolerance for overlap in conversations, with Spanish having longer overlap than English as its norm. In conversations between Spanish and English speakers, in which each group showed a tendency to follow the norms of their L1, the speakers misinterpreted each other's behavior as signs of either a lack of interest (Spanish speakers' judgment of English speakers) or a high level of excitement or even rudeness (English speakers' judgment of Spanish speakers).

The final letter of the mnemonic SPEAKING, **G**, refers to **genres**. Genres include categories such as poems, riddles, commercials, spam e-mails, etc. Genres may parallel the category of speech events, but should, cautions Hymes, be treated as independent elements that may be involved in different speech events. Hymes cites the example of the sermon as a genre generally associated

with church services, but that may be alluded to in other situations for possibly serious or humorous effect (ibid: 61).

The elements that together form the mnemonic SPEAKING are often invoked in studies of language use, even if the approach is not specifically acknowledged. The construct of the speech event is closely related to the notion of interactive practices that is central to studies of IC (Young and Miller 2004). Young and Miller (2004), for example, investigate the interactive practice of revision talk in writing conferences between an L2 English student and his English as a Second Language writing instructor. If one applies the SPEAKING mnemonic to Young and Miller's study, we see that most of the elements were discussed explicitly. S, the setting and scene, was a writing conference that took place once each week of July 1999. The participants were seated together at two corners of a table, with the paper to be revised on the table, between them. The participants (P) were the student, an adult Vietnamese male who was learning English in the United States, and his female English as a Second Language writing instructor. The ends (E) or objectives of the speech event (interactive practice) were to analyze the student's essay drafts to identify problems, discuss ways to improve the essay, and make revisions. The act sequence (A) involved generally a series of eight steps that are repeated in the revision talk: (1) both attend to the paper; (2) one identifies a problem; (3) one explains the need for revision; (4) instructor directs student to propose the needed revision; (5) either participant proposes the needed revision; (6) instructor tells student to write the revision; (7) one writes the revision; and (8) instructor gives an evaluation of the revision (ibid: 522). The analysis of the act sequence is the key to the analysis of the learner's acquisition of IC in the

specific interactive practice as his participation in the act sequence becomes more active in the sessions that occur over time.

The key (K), or cues about tone or spirit, includes discussion of the instructor's positive evaluations of the student's writing and praise for his ability to recognize his mistakes. The instrumentalities include both oral and written channels of communications. The norms of interactional interpretation (N) include, perhaps, the role that the instructor takes in leading the interaction, as is, to some degree, the norm for student/teacher interaction. Within that dynamic is the quantity of commands that the instructor directs to the student, a type of move that is not directed by the student to the instructor. Finally, the genre (G) of the interaction is revision talk in ESL writing conferences. Table 2.2 summarizes Hymes's SPEAKING mnemonic together with the examples gleaned from the application of the model to Young and Miller's (2004) study.

Table 2.2 Hymes's SPEAKING Mnemonic for Analysis of Speech Events.

SPEAKING mnemonic (Hymes 1974)			Applied to Young and Miller (2004)
S	Setting Scene	Time, place, physical circumstances and psychological tone	Weekly writing conference, seated at table
P	Participants	Speaker, hearer, roles in interaction, etc.	Adult male NS ESL student and Adult female ESL writing instructor
E	Ends	Goals and outcomes	Analyze student's essay drafts to identify problems, discuss possible improvements, and make revisions.
A	Act Sequence	Form and order of the event	8 steps in revision talk: (1) both attend to the paper; (2) one identifies a problem; (3) one explains the need for revision; (4) instructor directs student to propose the needed revision; (5) either participant proposes the needed revision; (6) instructor tells student to write the revision; (7) one writes the revision; (8) instructor makes evaluation of the revision
K	Key	"Tone, manner, or spirit in which the act is done" (57).	Cues include instructor's positive evaluations of the student's writing and praise for his ability to recognize his mistakes.
I	Instrumen-talities	Channels (mediums of transmission) and Forms (register, variety, code)	Oral and written channels of communications
N	Norms	Norms of interaction Norms of interpretation	Instructor leads interaction (the norm for student/teacher interaction). Instructor commands student (not vice versa).
G	Genre	Categories such as poems, commercials, sermons, etc. At times equivalent with speech event.	Revision talk in ESL writing conferences

This section has summarized the foundations of the ethnography of speaking, an approach to the analysis of communication that is central to the

construct of IC. The following section, 2.2.3, discusses Conversation Analysis, which also focuses on the knowledge of members in a speech community, but more specifically analyzes "how conversation creates its own sense of order and structure" (Johnson 2001: 47).

2.2.3 Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA) is a method of analysis of communication that seeks to uncover the basic architecture of communication. Heritage (1984) contends that the goal of CA is to describe and explain "the competences which ordinary speakers use and rely on when they engage in intelligible, conversation interaction. At its most basic, the objective is to describe the procedures and expectations in terms of which speakers produce their own behaviour and interpret the behaviour of others" (241). The unwritten procedural rules in interaction form structure that in turn permits, for example, orderly turn-taking in interaction, and negotiation of misunderstanding. The seminal research in CA was conducted by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson in the 1970's. Their research examines the structures that support the systematic, recurrent procedures for turn-taking and the conventional participation structures that allow interactants to manage conversation jointly. Practitioners of CA focus their analysis of natural data as opposed to elicited data, often focusing on specific speech situations or events, such as family dinner time or doctor appointments.

Sacks *et al.* (1974) claim that there is a basic architecture that supports interaction, in which in casual conversation all participants have equal access to the floor, and there is a balanced distribution of rights and obligations in interaction. The basic architecture of interaction is the social organization of turn-

taking, which accounts for the fact that, in conversation, “one party talks at a time, though speakers change, and though the size and ordering of turns vary; that transitions are finely coordinated; [and] that techniques are used for allocating turns” (ibid: 699). Key elements indicated by Sacks *et al.* include the notions of **turn-constructional unit, transition relevance place, local management system, recipient design,** and **speaker selection**. **Turn-constructional units** are generally syntactic units of various types, including “sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical” (ibid: 720). **Transition relevance places** (TRP) occur after turn-constructional units, and are moments in interaction when turn transition, or change of speakers, can occur. The turn-taking system is a **local management system**, meaning that the transfer of turns is dealt with on a turn-by-turn basis (ibid: 725). The locally managed character of turn-taking allows for variance in interaction: neither turn order nor turn length are fixed in conversation. **Recipient design** indicates the participants’ orientation to the other participants in interaction. Sacks *et al.* (1974) indicate that recipient design affects “word selection, topic selection, admissibility, and ordering of sequences, options, and obligations for starting and terminating conversations, etc.” (ibid: 727).

Ultimately, the actual moment of change of speaker between turns is dictated by the architecture related to speaker selection.

2.2.3.1 Speaker Selection

Speaker selection addresses who takes a turn after each TRP, or moment that potentially marks the end of a participant’s turn. Sacks *et al.* (1974) posit that at a TRP, there are generally three options for turn allocation. The first

is that the current speaker may select self, meaning that the turn continues. The second option is that the current speaker may select another speaker by means, for example, of a question. The third option is that another, non-current speaker, selects self by taking the floor (ibid: 716). Examples of the three options for turn allocation are presented in 2-1, 2-2, and 2-3.

Excerpt 2-1: Conversation 4 – Current speaker selects self

22→	2 -	sí, gigante. pero me gusta Marruecos. y siempre cuando nosotros vamos allí hace buen tiempo. …
		yeah, huge. but I like Morocco. and there's always good weather when we go there. …

Excerpt 2-2: Conversation 5 – Current speaker selects other

162→	S -	y la fiesta está en el Centro o:?
		and is the party at the school or:?
163	J -	sí, es en el Centro el 24 de mayo
		yeah, it's at the school on May 24th.

Excerpt 2-3: Conversation 1 – Non-current speaker selects self

131	J -	…España fue uno de los primeros países que abandonó la esclavitud, pero
		…Spain was one of the first countries that abandoned slavery, but
132	S -	hmm
133	J -	pero eso, eso es otro otra historia.
		but that, that's another another story.
134→	S -	sí. se dice que es una historia real.
		yes. they say it's a true story.

In excerpt 2-1, the current speaker S self selects to continue her turn at two TRP's, which coincide in this case at the ends of the first two sentences in her turn on line 22. In excerpt 2-2, the current speaker S selects other (J) by

asking him a question in line 162. In excerpt 2-3, the non-current S self-selects in line 134 at a TRP in the current speaker's (J) turn in line 133.

Current speaker selecting another is often dictated by another key concept in CA, the **adjacency pair**. Adjacency pairs are sequences in conversation in which the first speaker's turn (first pair part) predicts or projects the second speaker's turn (second pair part) (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). As such, they can also be understood generally as an instance of current speaker selecting other.

Excerpt 2-4: Conversation 1 – Adjacency pair: Question/Answer

45→	J -	dónde está?	First Pair Part
		where is it?	Question (other selects)
46	S -	cerca de Boston.	Second Pair Part
		near Boston.	Answer

In excerpt 2-4, J other selects S in line 45 with the first pair part of the adjacency pair, the question. S responds in line 46 with the second pair part, the answer. The most prototypical example of the adjacency pair is the question/answer sequence, but there are numerous other examples of adjacency pairs, including greeting/greeting and offer/acceptance or rejection. Generally, the absence of the second pair part of an adjacency pair is interpreted as having significant meaning, ranging from lack of understanding or being out of hearing range to more emotional states such as being angry at a person or not wanting to reveal information, answer a question, or say no, etc.

On occasion, first- and second pair parts are not contiguous, rather they are broken up by an **insertion sequence**. Insertion sequences occur for a variety of reasons, including clarification, misunderstanding, or simple problems

in audio-reception (hearing). Generally the insertion sequence itself constitutes a second adjacency pair.

Excerpt 2-5: Conversation 2 - Adjacency pair with Insertion Sequence: Question/Answer

77	J	…y no has hecho nada especial	First Pair Part
	-	este tiempo? has ido a algún sitio o algo?	Question (other selects)
		… have you done anything special this time? have you traveled somewhere or something?	
78→	S	qué?	First Pair Part
	-	*what?*	Question (other selects)
79	J	digo si has hecho algo especial?	Second Pair Part
	-	*I mean have you done anything special?*	Answer
80	S	oh . . . lunes es mi cumpleaños	Second Pair Part
	-	*oh. . . Monday is my birthday*	Answer

In excerpt 2-5, J initiates an adjacency pair in line 77, other-selecting S with a question. S, in line 78, rather than completing the adjacency pair, initiates a second adjacency pair, constituting an insertion sequence, in which she asks J to repeat his question. Line 79 is, therefore, the second pair part to the second adjacency pair, and line 80 is the second pair part to the initial pair part from line 3. S's move in line 78 to resolve her misunderstanding is pertinent to another important concept in CA, the notion of repair.

2.2.3.2 Repair

Repair is the means by which interactants resolve problems of speaking, hearing, and understanding (Schegloff *et al*. 1977). Either the speaker or the hearer may initiate the repair and either may complete the repair. Self-initiated

repair refers to instances when the speaker indicates a need for repair while hearer-initiated repair occurs when a hearer indicates that repair is needed. Likewise, completion of the repair by the original speaker is referred to as self-completed repair while hearer-completed repair is referred to as other-completed repair. There are, thus, four main patterns seen in repair processes: (1) self-initiated, self completed repair; (2) self-initiated, other-completed repair; (3) other-initiated, self-completed repair; and (4) other-initiated, self-completed repair. Examples of the four main patterns are seen below in excerpts 2-6 through 2-9.

Excerpt 2-6: Conversation 1 – Self-initiated, self-completed repair

475→ S - a veces. *la el hombre que: trabaja en el Web café
*and *the (feminine) the (masculine) man who works in the Web café*

Excerpt 2-7: Conversation 2 – Self-initiated, other-completed repair

47→ S - y las chicas en plaza nueva en los fins fin [de semanas]
*and the girls in the Plaza Nueva on the *ends *weeksends*
48→ J - [fines de semana]
weekends

Excerpt 2-8: Conversation 2 – Other-initiated, self-completed repair

222 J - en Alhama, hay termas, hay termas naturales [y,
en Alhama, there are hot springs, there are natural hot springs [and
223→ S - qué] es un terma?
what] is a 'terma'?
224→ J - una terma es, un un lo llamamos terma, es una especie de um, de, de charca o de lago o de laguna.
a hot spring is, a a we call it hot spring, it's a type of um, of, of pool or lake or lagoon.

Excerpt 2-9: Conversation 2 – Other-initiated, other-completed repair

106	S -	quizás que sean alemanias *maybe they are *Germanies*
107→	J -	alemanes *Germans*
108	S -	sí, alemanes *yeah, Germans*

Excerpts 2-6, 2-7, and 2-9 show repair segments that are based on the perceived need for grammatical correction. In 2-6, S initiates and completes the repair when she corrects the repairable, or trouble source (Schegloff *et al*. 1977: 363); here, the grammatical gender of the definite article. In 2-7, she initiates the repair by using intonation and self-repair initiation to indicate that she is not certain of the correct way to express the plural of weekend. Her self-initiation is other-completed by J's overlapping recast of her utterance. Finally, in excerpt 2-9, Sophie makes an error that is other-repaired by J in the following turn.

While excerpts 2-6, 2-7, and 2-9 exemplify instances of repair involving error correction, it is important to remember that repair is not limited to correction. Repair is the means by which interactants resolve problems of speaking, hearing, and understanding (Schegloff *et al.* 1977). Repair is an important mechanism by which interactants are able to construct and maintain intersubjectivity; that is, to construct meaning jointly and achieve shared understanding. Shared understanding may be compromised by an interactant's lack of familiarity with a referent; thus, to regain shared understanding, repair may be initiated. Excerpt 2-8, above, the example of other-initiated, self-completed repair, addresses a problem of understanding due to S's lack of familiarity with a referent. S is not

familiar with the lexical item terma ‘hot spring’ and thus other initiates repair that J self completes by defining the term through the use of examples.

Schegloff *et al.* (1977) indicate that there are social constraints on repair. They found a general preference for self-initiated, self-completed repair. Preference in this case is not a statistical term but rather the term refers to the markedness of an action. A preferred action can occur with few or no markers while a less preferred or dispreferred action is generally marked by some type of dispreference markers such as hesitation or hedging; thus, it has greater markedness. Examples 2-10 and 2-11 below provided invented samples of preferred and dispreferred responses.

Excerpt 2-10: Preferred response

1	A -	Do you want to go to the movies on Friday?
2→	B -	Sure, what do you want to see?

Excerpt 2-11: Dispreferred response

1	A -	Do you want to go to the movies on Friday?
2→	B -	Ah ma:n, I’d love to but I already have plans.

In the case of invitations, the preferred response is acceptance of the invitation; thus, no hesitation or linguistic marking of any kind is likely before the acceptance of the invitation, as seen in excerpt 2-10. If an interactant is rejecting an invitation, the rejection may be delayed by various dispreference markers that precede the rejection, as exemplified in excerpt 2-11 where the speaker expresses disappointment, uses a sound stretch, expresses a desire to accept the invitation, and follows finally with the refusal.

Preference can also be understood in terms of face. Non-face-threatening acts are preferred acts and are produced without hesitation, while potentially face-threatening acts are dispreferred acts and are marked to demonstrate the speakers' understanding of the potential implications of their actions. Thus, in excerpt 2-10 above, accepting the invitation involves no threat to face, so no marking is needed. Declining the invitation, however, threatens the face of the inviter, so markers are warranted to assure that the speaker does not feel insulted, as exemplified in excerpt 2-11.

Repairing another speaker's utterance can be a face-threatening act, hence Schegloff *et al.*'s (1977) finding of a preference for self-initiated, self-completed repair over other initiated, other-completed repair is not surprising. Their findings were based primarily on data from adult NSs of English. One apparent exception that they found on the constraints on other-correction occurred in adult-child interaction, particularly in parent-child interaction. A small amount of their data included adult/child interactions where they observed that other correction did not appear to be as infrequent. They surmised that other-correcting children's utterances was related to socialization practices. They theorized that perhaps the different preference organization observed in adult/child interaction might be applicable generally in interaction where one or more speakers is "not yet competent in some domain," be that due to age, expertise, nonnative status, etc. (ibid: 381).

Several researchers have investigated preference organization for repair in interactions between speakers of unequal competence to analyze the validity of Schegloff *et al.*'s assertion. Norrick (1991) collected data from a number of settings including adult/child, teacher/student, and NS/NNS interaction. He

argued that, rather than a simple overarching preference system for repair (specifically correction), the organization of corrective sequences is determined in individual contexts based on how the participants perceive "their respective abilities to complete the action successfully" (61). Thus, there is not a pre-established repair system to any interaction, but rather a variety of systems from which interactants choose based on their perceptions of each other's abilities and goals. If an imbalance in background knowledge or language ability is perceived, the more competent speaker may adopt a somewhat pedagogical stance and perform other corrections with few or no mitigating moves, a stance that is accepted by both interactants as a way to help the less-competent speaker reach higher levels of competence. Likewise, Norrick's account explains Schegloff *et al.*'s (1977) finding of the preference for self-correction over other-correction among adult NSs of similar levels of background information: "other-correction poses a potential face threat between approximate equals, because it entails a judgment by one participant about a gap in the other's speaking ability or world knowledge" (Norrick 1991: 80).

Kurhila's (2001) findings on NS/NNS interaction in Finnish confirmed Schegloff *et al.*'s (1977) findings of a general constraint on other-correction. Many perceivable NNS errors were not corrected or in any way addressed in the interactions. Kurhila did find two contexts, however, in which other-correction was less constrained. The first involved the embedding of other-correction into repetition slots where it was not oriented to, or directly addressed, by the interactants. The repetition slot falls after a previous utterance, a position that coincides with the preferred position for other initiation of repair, according to Schegloff *et al.* (1977). The dual potential function of the next turn after the

repairable allows the NS respondent to recast the NNS's utterance to a more correct form without changing the focus of the conversation, as seen below in excerpt 2-12 from Kurhila (2001).

Excerpt 2-12: Kurhila (2001: 1089) (English gloss only)

1	NNS -	When eh (2.0) eh does the room a- eh ('smiley' voice begins) go: ↑away? ('smiley' voice ends) hehe
2→	NS -	('smiley' voice begins) Eh ('smiley' voice ends) you have to check out of the room (.) .hh eh tomorrow by noon (.) by twelve o'clock.
3		(.)
4	NNS -	↑By twelve.
5	NS -	Yes.

In excerpt 2-12, rather than simply answering the NNS's question minimally, the NS hotel receptionist provides an extended response that repeats the prior utterance using appropriate hotel terminology. The NS's turn provides both an answer to the NNS's question and a correction of the NNS's turn, but the interactants orient only to the first function of the answer, while not directly addressing the correction.

The second context in which Kurhila found less constraint on other-correction is after a hesitant-framed turn by the NNS. In other words, NS other-correction is common in turns subsequent to NNS turns in which hesitancy is displayed. The correction seen in this context is different than the correction apparent in the repetition slot as described above in that the correction is oriented to by the interactants and the NNS often repeats the corrected form. In addition, turns following hesitation markings by the NNS are only correcting the prior turn whereas turns in repetition slots often perform more than one function,

such as answering a question while also providing a correction. An example of other-correction following hesitation is seen below in 2-13.

Excerpt 2-13: Kurhila (2001: 1102) (English gloss only)

1	NNS -	History was m re[ally] only hh humm
2	NS -	[hmm]
3	NNS -	A hob(h)hh hu- h[ob-
4	NS -	[A hob]by [nyeah:?]
5	NNS -	[>A hobby]=>yes<< .hh

In excerpt 2-13, the NNS displays his uncertainty with a number of markers including hesitation, cut-off, restarts, and laughter. The NS responds with the sought after word and the correction is followed by the NNS's repetition of the word. Thus it is clear that both interlocutors orient to the repair and the NS repair has no dual purpose. The repair after the hesitation functions solely to provide the correct term or form to the struggling NNS.

The fact that the NS and NNS interlocutors orient to the repair implies, by extension, that they are orienting to their respective status as NS and NNS. Kurhila explains that there is an omnipresent asymmetry in NS/NNS interaction to which the participants can orient at any time, but that it is not interactionally relevant at all times. In the first type of other-correction where the NS incorporates the repair into the next turn, the NS/NNS dynamic is barely recognizable. In the second type of other-correction, however, the orientation to the NS/NNS dynamic and the resultant asymmetry of knowledge is more salient and slips briefly to the forefront of the conversation.

In sum, Kurhila theorized an omnipresent asymmetry of knowledge in NS/NNS interaction that allows for other-correction in contexts where such repair

would not be likely in interaction among NSs. Other-correction, however, is not performed on all NNS errors, thus indicating that other-correction of NNS by NS is still a relatively constrained process.

Wilkinson (2002), however, in research on learners studying abroad in France, found much less constraint than Kurhila did on other-correction in NS/NNS interaction. While Kurhila's study found other correction to be limited primarily to repetition slots or as a response to uncertainty framing, Wilkinson found that NSs performed other correction directly and often in cases where no NNS uncertainty was expressed. In addition, the repair was often initiated based on form, not just on problems that caused comprehension difficulties. Unlike Kurhila's NSs, who always provided the correct form immediately, the NSs in Wilkinson's study on occasion would initiate form-based repair in an attempt to get the NNS to provide the correction. Wilkinson classified this system as evidence of a strong pedagogical orientation in the NS/NNS interaction, in which both the NSs and the NNSs tended to recreate the interactional patterns found in language classrooms, commonly with explicit, often form-based repair sequences.

Repair, as was mentioned above, is an important mechanism by which interactants are able to construct and maintain intersubjectivity; that is, to construct meaning jointly and achieve shared understanding. Shared understanding may be compromised by an interactant's lack of familiarity with a referent; thus, to regain shared understanding, repair may be initiated. Intersubjectivity may also be maintained and supported by various moves that serve to demonstrate shared understanding. These moves are associated with the concept of **alignment** activity.

2.2.3.3 Alignment Activity

Alignment refers to the ways in which interlocutors demonstrate their intersubjectivity. In other words, through alignment interlocutors show each other that they are understanding each other and are being understood. Alignment activity entails a varied constellation of features of interaction, including, among others, assessments, backchannels, formulations (rephrasing what has been said), and collaborative completions (completing the other interactants' utterances) (Nofsinger 1991). It can also include moves that add additional information that is in harmony with the previous speaker's move. These alignment moves index shared understanding and the ability to adopt the other's point of view, and the ability to speak in the other's voice.

One category of alignment activity is that of **assessment activity**. Assessment activity refers to the ways in which speakers evaluate the content of their interlocutors' contributions to the conversation. As alignment moves, they demonstrate to the speaker how their contributions are being understood. Assessments are performed by many means, including, for example, by intonation, use of adjectives and affect displays such as interjections, and by body movement. Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) illustrate how assessments do not function as mere descriptors; rather, they can invite the other interlocutors to participate in the assessment activity. Goodwin and Goodwin's research shows that assessments by the speaker are often followed by hearer-provided assessments. Excerpt 2-14 from their data serves to illustrate this phenomenon.

Excerpt 2-14: Goodwin and Goodwin (1992: 163)

Dianne - **Jeff** made an asparagus pie
it wz s : :**so** [:**goo**:d]
Clacia - [I love it.]

It is clear in Excerpt 2-14 that the hearer is closely attending to the emerging discourse and is aware that the speaker is initiating an assessment, as illustrated by the intensifier and the emphasis (indicated by boldface type). The hearer participates in the assessment activity, overlapping the speaker's assessment with her own. In so doing, she demonstrates her alignment by providing an overt example of her congruent understanding.

Given this pattern of speaker assessments being followed by hearer assessments, assessments can in some ways be considered the first pair part of an adjacency pair. Not producing the second pair part can be construed as an indication of disagreement or lack of interest. Additionally, assessments are often used at the end of stories, partly to summarize the relevance of the story, and partly to bring the story to a conclusion, as a way of closing down the topic. Again, end-of-narrative assessments are often reciprocated by the hearer.

Two other alignment moves that are analyzed in the research project presented here are collaborative completions and collaborative contributions. **Collaborative completions** are moves in which an interactant completes another interactant's utterance. This move exemplifies a high degree of alignment in that the listener completely adopts the speaker's point of view and speaks in his own voice. Nofsinger (1991) indicates that the hearer projects how a speaker is going to finish an utterance based on the organization and syntax of the first part of the speaker's utterance. Excerpt 2-15 below, modified by

Nofsinger from Lerner (1989: 173) provides an example of a collaborative completion.

Excerpt 2-15: Nofsinger (1991: 122) – Collaborative completion

1 R - If you bring it in tuh them
2 C - it don't cost yuh nothing

In excerpt 2-15, C demonstrates his alignment with R's talk by preemptively completing R's turn at talk. Based on the previous conversation and the "if … then" syntax of R's turn, C is able to project the logical completion of R's turn.

Collaborative contributions constitute a variety of move types that add additional information that is in harmony with the previous speaker's move. These moves can include formulations, or utterances that rephrase the previous turn, and turns that simply add more information. **Formulations**, as defined by Nofsinger (1991), are moves that in some way summarize or focus the content of a previous speaker's (or speakers') turn (or turns). Excerpt 2-16 below, provides an example of a formulation.

Excerpt 2-16: Heritage (1985: 101) – Collaborative completion

1 S - …I never ever felt my age or looked my age,=I was
2 always (.) older,=people always took me for older. .hhhh
3 And when I was at college I think I looked a ma:tronly
4 fifty. .hh And (.) I was completely alone one weekend
5 and I got to this stage where I almost jumped in the
6 river(hh).=I just felt life wasn't worth it anymo:re,
7 =it hadn't anything to offer (.) .hhhh and if this was
8 living I had had enough.
9 I - You really were prepared to commit suicide because
10 you were a big fatty.
11 S - Yes, 'cuz I- I (.) just didn't see anything in life that
12 I had to look forward to . . .

In excerpt 2-16, a woman who won an award for dieting is being interviewed. After she describes the experiences she had gone through in lines 1 through 8, the interviewer reiterates what he interprets as the gist of her message. As Nofsinger (1991) indicates:

> The interviewer's formulation in lines 9-10 selectively focuses on some aspects of S's utterance, ignores others, renames her contemplated action (as suicide), and elaborates on the relationship between that action and her weight (Heritage, 1985 pp. 101-104). Thus a formulation displays its speaker's alignment in the sense that it exhibits not only what he or she understands from a prior turn, but what is proposed as important to focus on, clarify, confirm, and so forth. Formulations routinely occasion the action of confirming/disconfirming in the next turn (as in lines 11-12 above), thereby providing evidence of the state of mutual alignment between the participants (121-122).

Formulations may, by proposing a certain element of the previous utterances as important, be associated with topic management, another element of interaction that has been investigated in the field of CA.

2.2.3.4 Topic Management

Conversations flow from topic to topic. How interactants manage this flow is an area that has been investigated by researchers in CA. Sacks (1992), for example, speaks of boundaried and stepwise topic shift. Boundaried movement has more visible delimitations at the beginning and/or the end of the topic, and may often involve transition to a topic that is not clearly related to previous topics. Stepwise transition has less marked flow. Even though stepwise transition is not as obviously marked, speakers do adhere to the maxim of relevance, assuming that all participants are responsible for what has already been discussed and marking new information as new, via a number of possible markers.

A type of move associated with topic transitions is the **topic initial elicitor** (TIE). TIEs, defined by Button and Casey (1984), are moves that seek to generate new topics without introducing specific topics of their own. The elicitor itself is generally an open question such as "what's new" that inquires if there is news to report. The response to the elicitor is often a new topic that is then ratified by the interactant who elicited the possible topic. As such, TIE moves constitute a co-constructive means by which interactants work together to generate and establish new topics.

Excerpt 2-17: Conversation 2 – Topic Initial Elicitor

6→	J -	. . . bueno, que has hecho de estos días (que no nos vemos). *. . . anyway, what have you done in these days (that we haven't seen each other).*
7	S -	ah, huelo muy fuerte porque: me: me puse? *uh, I smell very strong because: I: I put on?*

In excerpt 2-17, J's open question in line 6 about what S has been doing lately constitutes a TIE. Essentially the TIE is a topic opening move that invites S to introduce a topic of her own choosing.

Another interactional element tied to topic management is of **topic transition markers**. This loosely delineated term encompasses a variety of lexical items and behaviors that tend to occur around the openings and closings of topics. They may, in some cases, be related to boundaried topic transition, in which they form the boundary itself. Some conventional markers used in English to mark topic initiation include 'oh say', 'you know what?', and 'by the way' (Crow 1983: 141-142). Topic transition markers are also seen in stepwise topic transition, meaning moments where topics flow directly into each other due to

some relevant connection. Stepwise topic transition may be performed by "*topic shading*, which introduces a new topic by first establishing its relevance to or connection with the topic that has been on the floor" (Crow 1983: 142 italics in original). Topic shading may also be used for boundaried topic transitions also, with moves such as "speaking of X," and "that reminds me" (Crow 1983: 142).

Howe (1991) found a number of topic boundary markers. Topic ending indicators included assessments, acknowledgement tokens, repetition, laughter, and pauses. Questions and discourse markers often served as topic beginning indicators. Topic ending indicators appeared to be more frequent than topic beginning indicators in interaction, indicating a more important role in interaction. In addition, topic endings were often marked over a number of turns preceding the topic boundary, while the beginnings were not marked to the same extent (p. 10). Finally, Howe illustrated the co-constructive nature of topic transition, showing how "topic changes are cooperatively achieved by participants" (p. 10).

2.2.3.5 Conclusion

CA has proved itself to be a fruitful approach to the analysis of talk-in-interaction. The above mentioned features of interaction, speaker selection, repair, alignment activity and topic management represent just a portion of the varied elements of interaction that have been researched in the field of CA. Recently, CA has been incorporated with ever increasing frequency in the field of SLA as researchers seek to analyze some of the claims set forth by the proponents of IC; specifically, the claim that IC is a theory of second language knowledge. Section 2.3 provides background literature relevant to a second central claim of IC, that IC is a theory of second language acquisition.

2.3 THEORIES INFORMING THE DEVELOPMENT OF IC

The concept of IC attempts to provide a thorough account of the knowledge and skills that participation in interaction entails. In addition, "Interactional Competence also explains the process by which learners become participants in the social world, and, as such, it is a theory of acquisition" (Young 1999: 119). Learners acquire IC by participating with more experienced individuals in interaction (He and Young 1998). IC is ultimately a local knowledge base, applying to specific interactive practices, not to communicative ability as a general practice. Young (2003) asserts that, because "knowledge and interactional skill are local and practice-specific, the joint construction of an interactive practice involves participants making use of the resources that they have acquired in previous instances of the *same* practice" (p. 6).

2.3.1 Vygotskyan Sociocultural Theory

The idea that SLA takes place in interaction is motivated by theories of learning that recognize the social situatedness of learning in general. Vygotskyan Sociocultural Theory posits that the development of all higher cognitive functions occurs first on a social plane and eventually the functions are internalized to the individual, mental plane (Vygotsky 1978, 1987). The fully internalized cognitive functions represent the actual level of development of a learner while the functions that are only manageable on a social plane represent the potential level of development. The difference between the actual and potential level of development in a learner is represented in the notion of the

zone of proximal development (ZPD) (Lantolf and Pavlenko 1995). Interaction between a novice and an expert in the ZPD constitutes a learning environment in which the novice has the greatest potential for appropriating forms of mental function to the individual plane. If the interaction is somehow constrained to the actual level of development of the learner, there is little available for the learner to appropriate. Likewise, if the interaction is beyond the current potential level of development, the novice will not be prepared to benefit from the interaction.

2.3.2 Guided Participation

Rogoff (1990) refers to the type of interaction that Vygotsky envisioned as the locus of cognitive development in children as **guided participation** and **apprenticeship**.

> Vygotsky's model for the mechanism through which social interaction facilitates cognitive development resembles apprenticeship, in which a novice works closely with an expert in joint problem solving in the zone of proximal development. The novice is thereby able to participate in skills beyond those that he or she is independently capable of handling. Development builds on the internalization by the novice of the shared cognitive processes, appropriating what was carried out in collaboration to extend existing knowledge and skills (Rogoff 1990: 141).

Rogoff (1995) proposes that development in children can be observed on three planes of analysis. The **plane of community activity** is described by the metaphor of **apprenticeship**, a dynamic in which novices participate with experts in culturally organized activities as a way to develop their skills and comprehension. The **interpersonal plane** refers to interaction between individuals and is represented by the notion of **guided participation**. When observing interaction, researchers may benefit from using the notion of guided

participation to analyze how the interaction fits into sociocultural processes in order to understand the development that takes place. The third plane of analysis, the **individual plane**, represents **participatory appropriation** and it refers to "the process by which individuals transform their understanding of and responsibility for activities through their own participation" (150). In sum, Rogoff's configuration of Sociocultural Theory asserts that we should "view cognitive development as participatory appropriation through guided participation in a system of apprenticeship" (157).

2.3.3 Legitimate Peripheral Participation

A related perspective on learning is seen in Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of **legitimate peripheral participation**. In their view, individuals acquire skills through participation with experts in an activity. Novices must be allowed to participate in **communities of practice** in order to acquire expert knowledge and roles. The community of practice is not merely a group of people with a certain skill set using that skill. A community of practice is "a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice" (ibid 98).

Novices' participation in a community of practice is limited in ways that correspond to their level of development. Initially, they have limited responsibility for the final outcome of the interaction and, as such, their participation is limited, or peripheral. In addition, successful acquisition is made possible in part by legitimating the participation of the novice in the interaction. Learning, in their model, is not situated in the "acquisition of structure, but in the increased access of learners to participating roles in expert performances" (Hanks 1991: 17).

Ultimately, novices approach expert levels as they move towards full participation in the community of practice.

Lave and Wenger analyzed the dynamics at play in various forms of apprenticeship, including that involving Mayan midwives, Liberian tailors, and butchers in supermarkets in the United States. The relations created in the different apprenticeships were the key to whether the apprenticeship was ultimately successful. In the first two cases, the apprentice midwives and tailors play direct roles in their respective trades. Mayan midwives pass on the knowledge of their practice to future generations via an informal form of apprenticeship that generally takes place within families; i.e., midwives in the Mayan community are the daughters and granddaughters of midwives. The young girls are exposed to midwifery practices by virtue of being within such close proximity of practicing midwives. Direct involvement with the practices is generally limited to running errands and other peripheral tasks, although young girls may be present during some client visits. After the daughters have given birth themselves, the apprenticeship, still unacknowledged, reaches a higher degree of participation in that the daughters are present at births themselves. Initially their role is still to run errands or perform simple tasks, but most of the exposure to the specific skills involved is based on observation. Lave and Wenger point out that the daughters rarely ask questions while present at the births. Eventually the young women may perform some of the steps that an expert midwife follows during labor and delivery, culminating finally with the procedure that carries the greatest cultural importance among the community, assisting the laboring mother with the birth of the placenta (Lave and Wenger 1991: 68-69).

The apprenticeship of tailors in Vai and Gola, West Africa, is more formalized than that of the Mayan midwives. The apprentices enter a formal apprenticeship that generally lasts around 5 years. Like the midwives, the early stages of participation involve primarily observation of the experts at work in their trade. As the novices move to slightly less peripheral roles in the community of practice, they begin to take responsibility for less central items and garments, including children's clothing and hats. Eventually they are responsible for steps in the production of finer apparel. The steps, however, do not follow the same order as the actual production of the garment; rather, they begin with finishing touches such as adding buttons, followed by sewing together the different pieces, and ending with cutting the fabric. Lave and Wenger indicate that by reversing the production steps, the apprentices are given the opportunity to appreciate how the current step is contingent on the previous ones (71-72).

In the cases of both the Mayan midwives and the West African tailors, there is a clear trajectory from peripheral to full participation in the community of practice. Ultimately, the communities have developed successful systems of apprenticeship. In the case of the apprentice butchers, however, the formal apprenticeship is largely unsuccessful. Part of the lack of success is due to changes in purchasing habits in the United States. In the past, butcher shops were the primary vendors of meat in the society. That role, however, has been replaced in many areas by supermarkets. The training practices of the apprenticeship program evaluated by Lave and Wenger do not reflect that basic change. In addition, the program is unsuccessful in creating a dynamic in which the apprentice butchers can move towards full participation in the community of practice. Instead, they are kept far on the periphery. Much of the apprentice

experience consists of classroom instruction and written examinations. Some of the classroom experience does involve practice rather than instruction, but some of the tasks performed, such as knife sharpening, are irrelevant in today's market. When the apprentice butchers eventually enter the job site, they are often trained to perform a single, often menial, task and have little exposure to the entire process. They rarely have the opportunity to participate in the full range of tasks associated with the trade. In essence, they are kept far on the periphery of the community of practice and rarely have the opportunity to move towards full participation (ibid: 77-79).

Young and Miller (2004) apply Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of legitimate peripheral participation to the process of SLA. They contend that the acquisition of IC takes place in novice/expert interaction and can be seen in the trajectory of the changing roles that the expert and novice play in the interaction. The study, discussed in greater detail above in sections 1.2.4.2 and 2.2.2, showed the changing role that the learner played in revision talk over the course of four student/teacher writing conferences. As the student became more interactionally competent in the interactive practice of revision talk in writing conferences, he moved from his initial position far on the periphery towards full participation in the interaction. Young and Miller's study represents one of the few published studies that applies the notion of legitimate peripheral participation as a means by which to explore the acquisition of IC.

2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given IC's recent incorporation into the field of SLA, it is not surprising that relatively little research has been conducted on the topic. Some investigations

have been completed that, for the most part, do not approach the data from the perspective of IC but it is possible to apply the concept of IC to the findings. Direct studies of IC, however, are scarce. It is clear that, in order for this construct of communicative competence to gain a stronger foothold in the field of SLA, a considerable amount of research is needed. The notion of IC incorporates findings from various fields of linguistic inquiry to provide an innovative approach to second language competence and the process of acquisition. Given IC's innovations, this researcher feels strongly that conducting studies to analyze and support the notion of IC is a worthy goal.

The first issue to address in this pursuit is that of the interactional resources present in learners' speech and the learners' abilities to deploy the resources competently. In addition, longitudinal analysis of the development of these resources warrants examination. The current study, which represents a case study of a L2 learner in the study abroad setting, addresses this issue through the following four research questions:

(1) What interactional resources does the individual L2 learner appear to have acquired in this context? What expected interactional resources appear to be lacking or underdeveloped?

(2) How do the displayed interactional resources appear to change over the course of the year abroad?

The second main issue to address concerns the nature of co-construction in novice/expert interaction. IC attempts to account for how interactants manage communication together. Research is needed to examine co-construction in novice/expert interaction through the analysis of the roles that the interactants play in the interaction and the changes seen over time. The evolving roles can

be viewed following Lave and Wenger's (1991) construct of Legitimate Peripheral Participation as evidence of the novices' trajectory from peripheral to full participation in the interaction. The current study addresses these issues through the next two research questions:

(3) What roles do the NS and the NNS play in the co-construction of interaction? What is the apparent distribution of rights and obligations between the interactants? How do the roles and the distribution of rights and obligations evolve over time?

(4) How and when do the interactants orient to their status as novice and expert? How do they co-create the novice/expert dynamic? How does this dynamic change over the course of the novice's year abroad?

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented background literature on methodologies and constructs that have played important roles in the creation of the construct of IC. In addition, the chapter discussed various theories concerning the process of the acquisition of IC. Finally, the specific research questions that are addressed in the present research project were discussed. The following chapter outlines the methodology followed in the collection and analysis of data.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this study is to provide a more fully developed description of the Interactional Competence of second language learners, specifically in the discursive practice of general conversation. The study abroad setting was chosen as the most appropriate site in which to conduct the research given the basic assumption that IC is developed through interaction in the language (Hall 1995) and the greater potential opportunities for interaction the study abroad setting offers. This chapter describes the structure of the research, the participants, the collection of data, and the analysis of the data.

3.2 SETTING

This study was conducted in Granada, Spain, during the 2000-2001 academic year. Granada was chosen because it is a very popular site for American students to go to study abroad programs. As such, it is representative of a typical study abroad experience. In addition, it offers a greater number of potential participants in the study than would be found in a less popular study abroad setting.

The exact nature of the study abroad experience in Granada varies depending on the program in which a student is enrolled. A number of American colleges, universities, and private businesses have full year study abroad programs in Granada. Many more offer single semester programs, and even more offer summer programs. In addition, there are many other programs that

attract students from all over the globe, primarily from other parts of Europe and North America, and from Asia.

Most of the American students studying in Granada take classes at the Centro de Lenguas Modernas (CLM), the modern language department of the University of Granada. The Spanish classes offered at the CLM include language (beginning through advanced levels), literature, culture, linguistics, and pedagogy. The vast majority of the students in the classes are foreign to Spain and come from all around the world. In addition, most programs provide to the more proficient learners the option of taking one or two courses in other departments of the University of Granada. The students in those classes are primarily Spaniards.

The housing arrangements that the programs offer vary from the traditional homestay, to dormitories or apartments with other students, Spanish or foreign. The typical housing plan for a student spending the entire school year abroad is to live with a Spanish family in the fall, then in an apartment in the spring. Often, given the large number of foreign students who study in Granada, most, if not all, roommates in shared apartments are also NNSs of Spanish.

3.3 PARTICIPANTS

The research project presented here is a case study of one NNS Spanish-student and her acquisition of IC, as evidenced in her conversations with one NS of Spanish. The student, referred to in this project as Sophie, was chosen for analysis out of a pool of six students on whom data were collected. One reason is that, based on Simulated Oral Proficiency Interviews (SOPI), Sophie advanced from Intermediate High to Advanced Low over the course of the year,

a finding that implies that Sophie acquired sufficient language abilities to be able to participate actively in conversation, according to the Proficiency Guidelines. Details about the SOPIs and the Proficiency Guidelines are discussed in Section 3.4.3. Two other students in the data set also crossed the threshold between Intermediate and Advanced levels. In both cases, however, a complete data set was not obtained. In addition, based on personal interactions with Sophie and the other two students, together with superficial analysis of the data on all three participants, the researcher judged that Sophie was a "good conversationalist," implying that she was always engaged in conversations in both English and Spanish. The same was not true for the other two participants, who showed tendencies to minimize the amount of time they held the floor in the interactions. Sophie also tended to stay current on news events, a characteristic that increased shared background knowledge between Sophie and her NS interactant. Finally, Sophie was able to integrate into the community of Spanish speakers in Granada more than the other two students, as was evidenced in her Language Contact Journals (discussed in Section 3.4.2) and by researcher observation. Given the assumption that IC develops through participation in the community of practice, Sophie may exhibit greater development of IC than those two students. Since a central goal of this dissertation is to provide a more fully developed description of IC in L2 learners, Sophie is the best candidate for analysis. Thus, Sophie was selected to be the focus of analysis for the study. Sophie and her NS interactant, José, are discussed in the following two sections.

3.3.1 Sophie

Sophie, the NNS Spanish speaker, was a typical study abroad student. She was a Spanish major in her junior year at a large private university in northeastern United States. She had studied Spanish for four years in high school and two years in college before coming to Spain. She had never studied abroad before, nor had she traveled to or lived in a Spanish-speaking country prior to her year abroad in Granada. She had not studied any other languages besides Spanish and her family did not speak any languages other than English in the home.

According to her initial questionnaire, her desire to study Spanish stemmed from her appreciation of languages and the Spanish culture. Additionally, she enjoyed the idea of being able to communicate with more people. Fluency was what she expected to achieve from the program, and her plans concerning using Spanish in the future consisted of taking more classes and studying abroad again, perhaps in Puerto Rico. According to her exit questionnaire at the end of the year abroad, Sophie was hoping to travel the world after graduating the following year, depending on her economic situation. Or, she indicated, she might move to Morocco to be with her boyfriend.

In her first semester in Granada, Sophie lived with a host family. She enjoyed her host mother, a widow in her late 50's, and host sister, a college student in her mid 20's. She did not, however, like their cat, which coincidentally had the same name as Sophie's real name (i.e., not her pseudonym), a relatively uncommon name. Sophie commented that her hosts let her be independent and were not intrusive, and that the food was generally good. Her only complaint, other than the cat, was that the house was very far away from the center of town.

Very early on in her stay abroad, Sophie met Ali (pseudonym), a young Moroccan man who eventually became her boyfriend. Their relationship became very serious, and they ended up living together during Sophie's second semester abroad, sharing an apartment with one other American student. Sophie spent most of her time with Ali, with whom she spoke only Spanish. From the time they started dating to the time Sophie left Spain, she and Ali traveled together to Morocco six times. On most of those trips, Sophie stayed with Ali at his family's home. She reported that she enjoyed his family and that they were very welcoming to her.

Sophie's relationship with Ali clearly had a substantial impact on her integration into the community of Spanish speakers, albeit L1 Arabic speakers. Early on in her stay abroad, Sophie reported speaking Spanish primarily only with her host family. Once she began to spend time with Ali in October, and dating him in November, the amount of time per day she interacted in Spanish increased dramatically, to the point where, on occasions, she had some days where she reported speaking Spanish one hundred percent of the time.

Sophie's academic program while in Granada consisted of courses offered at the CLM, including language, literature, and culture courses. She reported to the researcher that she chose not to pursue taking any courses at other departments in the University of Granada because she did not want to have courses that were too "stressful." She indicated that the academic aspect of her experience in the study abroad setting was not as important to her as the time she spent with Ali and, in general, the time she spent being in Spain.

Sophie's personality was outgoing and engaged. This characterization is based on the researcher's interactions with Sophie in Spanish and English, and

on analysis of the data. As mentioned above, she was clearly a good conversationalist, interested in both listening to and contributing to conversations. She paid attention to world and local events; thus, she was able to engage in conversations about such topics knowledgeably.

3.3.2 José

José was a 25-year-old accountant at a language school. He was originally from Barcelona and spoke both Spanish and Catalán natively. He had lived in Granada for ten years at the time the data for the present research project were collected. In general, Spanish NNSs commented that his Spanish was easier to understand than that of the Andalusians.

José spoke English quite well, though he had never studied abroad. This proficiency was likely due, in part, to his frequent interactions with foreign students in Granada. As an employee at a language school, he frequently interacted with foreign students. If the student's Spanish skills weren't sufficient for the task, English was generally the lingua franca used. In addition, José befriended many foreign students, incorporating them into his social circle of Spanish NSs and NNSs in Granada. José mentioned that he both enjoyed and was saddened by the cycle of making new friends each year. He enjoyed meeting people from other cultures and participating in their lives during such a time of transition and personal growth, but the ephemeral nature of the relationships ultimately implied a loss with each departure.

José was, in the researcher's opinion, a responsible, thoughtful, cultured, and romantic young man. He was well-versed in Spanish letters and often quoted poems or told anecdotes about well-known authors. He was active in the theater

and often spoke of his acting roles, both to recount the experience in terms of the theatrical exposition, and to share the great stories of Spanish theatre.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

Since the main goal of this dissertation was to attempt to understand the notion of IC and the process of its development, various sources of data were collected that could provide different perspectives on the focus of analysis. The main source of data were videotaped conversations between learner Sophie and NS José. These data show points of development in Sophie's SLA at different points in her study abroad experience. The collection of these data is discussed in section 3.4.1. Section 3.4.2 discusses the Language Contact Journals that Sophie filled out as a way of providing insight into the types of interactions in which she was involved in Spanish. Section 3.4.3 describes the Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview conducted to provide an accepted measure of oral proficiency.

3.4.1 Videotaped Conversations

The main corpus of data for this study consists of videorecorded conversations between Sophie and José that took place six times through the course of the academic year. The videotaping sessions were organized by the researcher and were held in her apartment. The conversations were held in a room in which the participants sat on adjacent easy chairs angled towards each other. The digital video camera was placed six feet in front of them on a tripod. In order to ensure high sound quality, the researcher used an external

microphone on a cord that ran from the camera to the armrest of one of the easy chairs. In addition, a microcassette recorder was placed on the armrest to provide audio backup in case of technical difficulties with the video camera. This audio recorder also served the function of a timer, its loud click at the end of the tape indicating to the participants that 30 minutes had passed.

The participants were asked to speak for 30 minutes in order to provide the researcher with data. They were told that the data would be used to analyze their interaction, but were not given any details on specific research goals. In order to obtain as naturalistic an interaction as possible, topic nomination in these conversations was left entirely in their control. The topics that arose spontaneously during these conversations varied widely, ranging from Granada and the participants' living situations to international politics and animal welfare, but the topics that were most often discussed were travel and language learning.

The conversations were recorded at the beginning, middle, and end of each semester for a total of six times through the course of the academic year. In Conversation 5, held in the middle of the spring semester, the participants spoke in English for 15 minutes, in addition to the 30 minutes in Spanish. This was done in order to provide some comparison data for how Sophie interacted in their native language. She also was videorecorded speaking English with the researcher, an English NS.

3.4.2 Language Contact Journals

Information on the types and amounts of interaction in Spanish in which the learner, Sophie, was engaged was collected via Language Contact Journals (LCJs), based on Isabelli's (2000) Network Contact Logs. These journals elicited

information on what kinds of activities she had interacted in, with whom, and what percentage of the time they spoke in Spanish. She also wrote some comments on whether she felt that it had been a typical day in terms of her use of Spanish, how she was feeling about being in Granada, and how she was feeling about her progress in Spanish. The data collected in the LCJs on the nature of Sophie's interactions in Spanish were used in an attempt to shed light on the factors at work in her development of IC, given the assumption that IC develops in interaction. These data, along with Sophie's comments about her progress in the language and her stay in Granada, provide a good description of her participation in growing networks of interaction. This description is complemented by notes taken by the researcher about Sophie, facilitated by their friendly relationship. As was possible, additional materials concerning Sophie's interactions and linguistic skills were collected, including some diary entries kept the first semester. The information collected allows us to make a reasonably well-informed qualitative assessment of her experiences in the study abroad setting.

3.4.3 Simulated Oral Proficiency Interviews

A Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview (SOPI) was conducted with Sophie at the beginning and end of her time abroad. These data provide a measure of oral proficiency that is widely accepted in the field of SLA. The SOPI is based on the ACTFL OPI, discussed above in Section 2.2.1. In the SOPI, the language sample is not elicited in an interview, but rather by a series of recorded prompts to which the testee responds. The learners' responses are recorded, to be rated at some later point in time.

The SOPI used in this research was based on the Texas Oral Proficiency Test (TOPT), an assessment used in the certification process for teachers of Spanish or bilingual education in public elementary and high schools in the state of Texas. The test, developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics, consists of a short warm up section that requests biographical information, followed by a series of tasks designed to elicit various speech functions that are correlated to different levels of proficiency as defined by the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (Breiner-Sanders *et al*. 2000). These tasks include giving someone directions based on a map provided, apologizing to someone, narrating in the past, and giving an informal speech, to name a few.

The SOPIs were recorded at the researcher's apartment. The researcher gave Sophie the instructions in both oral and written format, in English. The SOPIs were recorded using the digital video camera, in the same manner as the videotaped conversations, the exception being of course that Sophie was alone, not interacting with anyone else. The initial part of the test, with the personal questions, was conducted by the researcher. The rest of the test consisted of directions provided on an audiocassette and in written form. The directions, in English, described the context, audience, and other relevant information for each task. The participant then had a brief pause (30 to 90 seconds depending on the task) in which to prepare. This preparation time was followed by a prompt in Spanish that was relevant based on the instructions, after which the learner had a specific amount of time (30 to 120 seconds, again based on the nature of the task) in which to complete her response.

Both of the SOPIs were rated, based on the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines in Speaking (Breiner-Sanders *et al*. 2000), by two experienced TOPT raters. As

stated in Section 3.2 above, Sophie initially tested at Intermediate-High level and ended the year abroad at Advanced-Low. According to Breiner-Sanders *et al.* (2000), speakers at these two levels show the following characteristics.

Intermediate-High speakers:

- can speak about a range of personal topics with relative ease and confidence;
- can formulate and respond to questions;
- have some hesitancy and inaccuracies;
- show some influence of their first language primarily in terms of code-switching, false cognates, and literal translations;
- can generally be understood, even by NSs unaccustomed to speaking with NNSs;
- can narrate and describe accurately at the paragraph level; but when faced with Advanced-level tasks may show some degree of breakdown, such as loss of maintenance of time frame, or great hesitation.

Advanced-Low speakers:

- can speak about personal topics actively;
- can make some distinctions in register; can narrate in the past, present, and future at the paragraph level, although control of aspect may be inconsistent;
- are understood by NSs unaccustomed to dealing with NNSs, albeit with occasional need for repetition or restatement;
- still show some influence of the first language in terms of literal translation and paragraph structure;

- have a good flow of talk that may be somewhat tentative or irregular with self-correction and "grammatical roughness" (15);
- have a broad but rather generic lexicon;
- when faced with Superior level tasks there will be deterioration in their speech, in terms of quantity and quality.

As Liskin-Gasparro (2003) points out, the difference between Intermediate-High and Advanced-Low oral proficiency levels is important considering the type of role in interaction that a speaker is capable of taking. An Advanced-level speaker can be understood by NSs, even those who are not accustomed to interacting with NNSs. Additionally, they can "participate actively" in conversation (Breiner-Sanders *et al.* 2000). An Intermediate-High speaker is still limited to an unnatural and stilted interaction, versus the ease and comfort with which an Advanced level speaker can interact.

3.5 METHOD OF TRANSCRIPTION

Section 3.5 describes the technical details concerning how the data were transferred to a useable format, and how the initial transcription process was conducted.

3.5.1 Technical Details

The conversational data were recorded on mini digital videotapes. Each video was fed individually into a MacIntosh computer. Using iMovie, the video was then compressed into a QuickTime movie, which provided a more

manageable file size. The transcription was performed using QuickTime Pro and TextEdit.

In Conversation 3, the external microphone attached to the camera was not working well, resulting in long stretches of static that made the audio portion of the video unusable. In this case, the backup audio recording was used. The audio was fed into the computer using SoundEdit, then was saved as a QuickTime audio file, and was transcribed in the same manner as the QuickTime movies. The video portions of this conversation was consulted as needed to clarify or elucidate the audio transcription.

3.5.2 Transcription Process

The researcher first viewed all of the videos in their entirety, writing down general notes concerning the topics being discussed and sequences of interest. This general outline has proven itself useful in terms of finding sequences to discuss for conference papers written on these data, specifically on narrative sequences and extended repair sequences.

The researcher then transcribed all six of the conversations, not including the English conversations. These transcriptions were relatively detailed, consisting of all the gross utterances, including backchannels, and some details such as sound stretches, cutoffs, and overlap. The following table describes the transcription conventions used, adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984) and Buckwalter (1997).

Table 3.1 Transcription Conventions

Characteristic	Symbol	Example
Sound stretch	:	hablo despacio y:: cómo se dice *I speak slowly and:: how do you say*
English gloss	Italics	puede decir? *can you say that?*
English in original	Underline in gloss	y, like, tiró el, not tiró *and, <u>like</u>, knocked over the, <u>not</u> knocked over*
Silences / Pauses (untimed)	(.) or (..) or (…), etc.	porque la hija (..) sabe inglés *because the daughter (..) knows English*
Overlap	[ ] brackets	J - sí, la noche [pasada] *J - yeah, the past [night]* S - [La noche] pasada. y: me gusta mucho la Albaicín *S - [The past] night. And: I like the Albaicín a lot*
Contiguous speech (no gap)	=	J - cambiamos= *J - we switch=* S - =sí cambiamos, tu, ah muy bien, español, y yo, oh no, español *S - =yeah we switch, you, oh great, Spanish and me, oh no, Spanish.*
Falling intonation	.	es relajante. *it's relaxing.*
Rising intonation	?	puede decir? *can you say that?*
Low-rising intonation	,	y parándote, quiere decir. ... *and stopping, you mean.. ...*
Sound cut-off	-	sí, y duer- la gente duerme *yeah, and slee- the people sleep*
Transcriptionist commentary	parenthesis	(laughs) (name of local bar)
Error indicated (errors are only marked if attended to by the speakers and/or relevant to the analysis)	*	porque en Massachusetts el otoño es muy *bonita. *because in Massachusetts autumn (masc.) is very *pretty (fem., should be masc.).*
Transcriptionist doubt	Double parenthesis	=eso de de ((conocer a)) unos amigos por un año *=this situation of of ((knowing)) some friends for a year*

3.6 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data in this study was primarily qualitative, although the coding of moves was performed in order to be able to provide some quantitative comparisons between conversations. Section 3.6.1 describes the analysis of data from the perspective that IC consists of the ability to use various interactional resources effectively. Section 3.6.2 describes the analysis of the data used in order to address the issues of co-construction and the roles that the participants paid in the interaction, including their orientation to the novice expert paradigm.

3.6.1 Analysis of Interactional Resources

Chapter 4 of this study provides a microanalysis of all of the six conversations between Sophie and José. The analysis attempts to provide an account of the changes evidenced in the learner's interactional skills through the course of the year abroad. The skills analyzed are inspired by Riggenbach's (1998) urging for researchers to complement traditional measures of oral proficiency via detailed analysis of conversational microskills evidenced by learners engaged in natural conversation. The skills that Riggenbach examined in her analysis included, among others, the learner's ability to claim, maintain, and yield turns of talk, and to engage in repair processes as needed. These elements are examined in the present study. In addition, other issues dealt with in CA and mentioned by He and Young (1998), including adjacency pairs and topic nomination, are discussed.

To examine these features of the interactions, the researcher wrote a turn-by-turn analysis of all of the six conversations. Any patterns and apparent developments in terms of the learners' contributions were noted. Based on the analysis, the researcher also determined that another area of interest, alignment activity, should be analyzed. All moves were coded for three broad categories, speaker selection, alignment activity, and topic management, that in turn had subcategories, as described in the following three subsections.

The findings concerning these interactional resources, along with representative excerpts of the transcripts, are presented in Chapter 4 and address the notion of IC as a fifth type of competence, another element of oral proficiency not addressed in Canale and Swain's (1980) initial construct of CC. This section therefore attempts to account for the interactional resources that the learners hold and develop over time.

3.6.1.1 Speaker Selection

To determine Sophie's ability to participate in speaker selection, all turns were coded based on who was selecting whom and who held the floor in the previous turn. Following Edelsky (1993), continuers such as <u>sí</u> 'yeah' or 'uhum' were not counted as turns. Thus, in excerpt 3-1, line 275 is not coded for speaker selection, but line 274 is an example of non-current speaker selecting self.

Excerpt 3-1: Conversation 4

273	S -	pero hay gente que, gente loca. *but there are people that, crazy people.*
274→	J -	yo una vez tuve una pelea gordísima con un vecino mío. yo

siempre he tenido gatos. a mí los gatos me gustan mucho.
me, this one time I had a huge fight with a neighbor of mine. I have always had cats. I like cats a lot.

275 S - uhum

276 J - más que nada porque son animales que cuando: son un poco, un poco como yo, sabes?
especially because they are animals that when: they're a little, a little like me, you know?

In order to analyze turns in which the current speaker selected self, potentially it would have been necessary to determine every transition relevance place. That in itself would have been a difficult task compounded by Sophie's slow rate of speech delivery because there were more pauses than would have been present normally. It was decided that perhaps development in the ability of the current speaker to self-select could be evidenced by changes in average turn lengths. Thus, word counts were conducted for each turn in minutes 10 through 20 of each conversation.

3.6.1.2 Alignment Activity

To determine Sophie's ability to participate in alignment activity, all turns were analyzed to see if they were instances of assessments, collaborative completions, or collaborative contributions. Assessments included evaluative moves of some type, that ranged from simple, such as head nods, smiles, and agreement markers, to more complex, such as turns that include an evaluation expressed with an adjective, for example.

Excerpt 3-2: Conversation 1

185 J - y en Turquía por ejemplo fue- nos encontramos con una española, sabes? además era de Barcelona. y para mí,

encontrarla fue algo magnífico, sabes?
and in Turkey, for example it was- we met a Spanish woman, you know? who was from Barcelona too. and for me, meeting her was really great, you know?

186→ S - sí (nods head, smiling)
yeah (nods head, smiling)

Excerpt 3-3: Conversation 3

164 S - …el verano pasado era muy largo por mí porque yo terminé mis estudios en el fin de mayo y luego no: no *empiecé
*… last summer was really long for me because I finished my studies at the end of may and then I didn't: didn't *start*

165 J - no empecé
I didn't start

166 S - no empecé mis estudios aquí hasta octubre
I didn't start my studies here until October

167→ J - joder que sí
damn, yeah

168 S - pues, casi [un medio año]
so, almost [half a year]

169→ J - [sí sí sí sí sí.] qué maravilla.
[*yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah.] how awesome.*

Sophie's assessment turn in line 186 of Excerpt 3-2 constitutes a relatively simple assessment, while José's turns in lines 167 and 169 of Excerpt 3-3 are much more elaborate.

Collaborative completions are moves in which an interactant completes another interactant's utterance. This type of move exemplifies a high degree of alignment in that a listener completely adopts the speaker's point of view and speaks as though with the speaker's own voice. Excerpt 3-4 provides an example of Sophie collaboratively completing José's utterance.

Excerpt 3-4: Conversation 5

125 J - - los lobos no, ya quedan muy pocos, pero los lobos no tenían

		más remedio que que: que llegar hasta la ciudad *the wolves didn't, now there are very few, but the wolves didn't have any other option but but: come down to the city.*
126	S -	uhum
127	J -	entonces eran, vamos *so they were, I mean*
128→	S -	comer la gente *eat the people*

Collaborative contributions constitute a variety of move types that add additional information that is in harmony with the previous speaker's move. These moves can include formulations, utterances that rephrase the previous turn, and turns that simply add more information.

Excerpt 3-5: Conversation 6

340	J -	lo de tratar de comportaros de forma cordial los unos con los otros y todos estos tipos de cosas me parecen estupendo. hombre, es que creo que tampoco necesitamos que ningún dios nos lo diga, sabes? *the idea of treating each other politely and all those kinds of things seem great to me. man, the thing is that I think we don't need any god to tell it to us, you know?*
341	S -	sí, es common sense. *yeah, it's <u>common sense.</u>*

Sophie's move in excerpt 3-5, line 341, expresses the main idea of José's utterances and in so doing, illustrates her intersubjectivity.

3.6.1.3 Topic Management

To determine Sophie's ability to participate in topic management, all turns were analyzed for topic change. Attempts were made to distinguish between boundaried and stepwise topic moves, but the distinction proved to be too difficult

to discern consistently. The marking of possible topic transition points, however, did allow for analysis of the types of moves that occur around the topic borders, both as opening and closing moves. Comparisons could then be drawn between the types of moves José and Sophie used around topic borders. Additionally, topic initial elicitors (TIEs), discussed above in Section 2.2.3.4, were identified and coded.

3.6.2 Analysis of Co-construction

Chapter 5 addresses the notion of IC as a way of incorporating into the field of SLA the recognition of the co-constructed nature of interaction. The chapter analyzes the processes of co-construction in the conversations, specifically analyzing the roles that the NS and the NNS play. The section examines the asymmetrical nature of the interactions and considers the apparent distribution of rights and obligations between the interactants, and the evolution of that distribution over time. In an effort to relate learners' participation in interaction to the process of SLA, the chapter also analyzes the interactions through the lens of novice / expert interaction, based on Lave and Wenger's (1991) construct of legitimate peripheral participation, examining how and when the interactants appear to be orienting to these roles.

The coding of the data focused primarily on alignment activity. Alignment activity, as discussed in Section 3.6.1.2, entails a varied constellation of features of interaction, including, among others, assessments, backchannels, collaborative contributions, and collaborative completions. Alignment moves index shared understanding and the ability to adopt the other's point of view, and

the ability to speak in the other's voice. Chapter 4 presented discussion of some of these features in terms of Sophie's ability to deploy these interactional resources appropriately. Chapter 5, on the other hand, looks as these and other move types and analyzes both speakers' use of these moves while holding the floor and while the other is holding the floor.

The moves coded included moves by the floor holder that seek to confirm alignment or to initiate repair, and moves by the other interlocutor that demonstrate alignment, seek to confirm alignment, or repair the floor holder's contributions. Repair was classified as either self or other-initiated, and self or other-completed, following Schegloff *et al*. (1977), discussed earlier in section 2.2.3.2. Additionally, repairs were coded to indicate if they were meaning-based or form-focused. Meaning-based repairs deal with deficiencies in Sophie's lexicon that range from lack of confidence about the correctness of a word to complete ignorance about how to express a concept in the target language. Form-focused repairs, as defined in this analysis, are a more widely encompassing category that includes repairs related to morphosyntactic form and distinctions of aspect or mood. Excerpt 3-6 provides an example of a NNS-initiated form-focused repair on verbal morphology.

Excerpt 3-6: Conversation 3

176→	S -	…y él va a pensar que esta chica (.) memorizab- memoriza-? zó? *…and he's going to think that this girl (.) was memoriz- memorizes-? rized?*
177	J -	ha memorizado, *has memorized.*

Additionally, there are two specific repairs that could in some ways be considered lexical issues but, given their specific nature, they have been classified as form-focused repairs in this study. These two repairs are the distinctions between por and para, which are two Spanish prepositions that often translate as 'for', and ser and estar, two Spanish copulative verbs for English 'to be'. Although the actual differences between the two options in each case are largely lexical, learners of Spanish often appear to treat the options as alternate forms of the same concept. In fact, Sophie's repair initiations surrounding these items are exclusively presented as options, rather than try-marking, explicit request, or one of her other-repair initiation procedures, as seen in excerpts 3-7 and 3-8.

Excerpt 3-7: conversation 3

140→	S -	pues: uh, tenemos un tiempo largo por: por o para? *well; uh, we have a long time for: 'por' or 'para'?*
141	J -	por *por*
142	S -	por la Navidad, pero, por el día de dar gracias *for Christmas, but, for Thanksgiving day*

Excerpt 3-8: conversation 5

424	S -	yo tampoco, pero normal normalmente yo: soy muy, soy muy puntual. *me neither, but normal normally I: am (ser) very, am very punctual.*
425	J -	sí *yeah*
426→	S -	o estoy? soy muy puntual. y él también . . . *or I am (estar)? I am (ser) very punctual. And he is too. . .*

In excerpt 3-7, Sophie presents José with two options for how to correctly form her sentence, to which he responds with a repair that provides her the correct option. In excerpt 3-8, although Sophie again presents to José two options, she herself makes the decision correctly, so José never actually performs the repair, despite the fact that it was initiated.

3.7 SUMMARY

This chapter described the site where the research was conducted and the participants. In addition, it described the types and means of data collection and the methods of analysis. The following two chapters provide detailed analysis of the learner's development of IC over the course of the year abroad.

Chapter 4: Interactional Resources

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes the changes seen in the Sophie's interactional skills through the course of the year abroad. It approaches the concept of IC as a fifth component of communicative competence, an element of oral proficiency not addressed in Canale and Swain's (1980) influential model of communicative competence. The present approach to analyzing the microskills evidenced in learners' speech, a line of research advocated by Riggenbach (1998), provides an additional perspective on what constitutes oral proficiency. The learners' conversational microskills allow them to participate in conversation, to a degree that is dependent on their skill level.

These conversational microskills or patterns constitute the primary focus of research in the field of CA, a form of Discourse Analysis that seeks to uncover the basic architecture of communication. CA looks primarily at natural interaction (as opposed to elicited data), often in specific conventional settings, such as courtrooms or doctors' offices or family dinner times. Studies in CA, especially Sacks *et al.* (1974) and Schegloff *et al.* (1977) have discussed the structures that support the systematic, recurrent procedures for turn-taking and the conventional participation structures that allow interactants to manage conversation jointly. In addition, studies have analyzed apparent restrictions to these systematic procedures that arise in certain settings. These restrictions can be related to power differentials between interactants, or pre-determined roles that are socially ascribed to each interlocutor. Studies in the field of SLA on OPIs, for example, have shown that the assigned roles of interviewer and interviewee greatly

influence the turn-taking structure in the interaction. Johnson (2001) found that in general, the turn-taking structure of OPIs is fixed; the interviewer always has the right of selecting the interviewee to speak, and the interviewee has the obligation (not the right) to speak more than the interviewer. This type of fixed turn-taking structure tends to be seen in institutional settings such as interviews, courtrooms, and doctors' offices. In free conversation among peers, however, in which there are no preconceived goals to the interaction, there is a more fluid turn-taking structure. Sacks *et al.* (1974) claim that there is a basic architecture that supports the interaction, that all participants have the potential for equal access to the floor, and that there is a balanced distribution of rights and obligations in turn-taking.

At issue in the present research project is how this distribution of rights and obligations is reconfigured when the interactants have differing abilities in conversational microskills. This chapter analyzes the interactional resources that the learner appears to bring to the interaction. Specifically, it addresses the issue of what skills the learner displays and what resources seem to be lacking or underdeveloped. Also, because a major goal of this research is to trace the development of IC, the changes seen in these displayed skills over the course of the year abroad are analyzed. The conversational microskills discussed in this chapter include speaker selection, alignment activity, and topic management.

4.2. SPEAKER SELECTION

Speaker selection addresses how turns are allocated in interaction. In other words, speaker selection refers to the interactional structure that enables precisely timed change of turns. Change of speakers generally occurs at a

"transition relevance place" (TRP), discussed earlier in section 2.2.3. TRPs are any point in a speaker's turn that seems to be a potential end to the turn at which another participant might start speaking or take the floor. Markers of a TRP include, for example, the end of a sentence, or an intonation cue, or a pause. Sacks *et al.* (1974) posit that at the TRP, there are generally three options for turn allocation. At this point, the current speaker may select self by continuing holding the floor. He may select the other by means, for example, of a question or invocation. The third option is that the other, non-current speaker selects self; i.e., takes the floor.

4.2.1 Non-current Speaker Selects Self: Taking the Floor

In terms of Sophie's ability to participate competently in speaker-selection, it is clear from early in the very first conversation that she is capable of taking the floor through non-current speaker self-selection.

Excerpt 4-1: Conversation 1

19	J -	sabes? y y y no bueno no me gusta que se= *you know? and and and I don't, well, I don't like=*
20	S -	sí *yes*
21	J -	=rían de mí por eso no lo hago *=people to laugh at me so I don't do it.*
22→	S -	sí. practiqué mucho con mi familia *yes, I practiced a lot with my family*
23	J -	uhum
24	S -	porque la hija (..) sabe inglés *because the daughter (..) knows English*

Sophie's ability to take the floor on her own initiative constitutes a major accomplishment in that it shows that in this realm, she is already able to exercise

her conversational right to self-selection. As such, it can be said that Sophie has acquired this microskill at minimally a basic level. It is apparent, however, that as the year goes on, the quality of these moves changes in terms of their smooth incorporation into the surrounding discourse, their timing, and their co-constructive nature. This development is discussed in section 4.3 as it corresponds to alignment activity, and in 4.4 in regards to topic nomination.

4.2.2 Current Speaker Selects Self: Keeping the Floor

Self-selection by the current speaker is difficult to analyze given the complexity inherent in determining all of the potential TRPs. Ford and Thompson (1996) analyzed the relationship among syntax, intonation, and pragmatics in TRPS and determined that, ultimately, it is often a combination of the three features that signal possible completion. In the present research project, the difficulty for the analyst to project the ends of turns is compounded by Sophie's very slow rate of speech delivery, a phenomenon that greatly increases the number of pauses in her turns where change of speaker could naturally occur. One development over the course of the year that could indicate improvement in Sophie's ability to self-select when she is the speaker, however, is the increase shown in the length of her turns. As seen in Table 4.1, there is a marked increase over the course of the year in the average length of her turns and in the maximum length of the turns, counted in number of words.

Table 4.1 NNS Turn Lengths

	First Semester			Second Semester		
NNS Sophie	Conv. 1	Conv. 2	Conv. 3	Conv. 4	Conv. 5	Conv. 6
Total # of turns	22	24	16	23	23	15
Average Length of turn	9.2	10.3	21	11.8	8.4	32.9
Range of turn length	1-27	1-33	2-82	1-61	1-41	2-114

(based on minutes 10-20 of each conversation. Following Edelsky (1993), backchannels were not counted as turns.)

Although the data presented in Table 4.1 do illustrate a marked increase in turn length, there is not a conversation-by-conversation progression, except in the first semester. In the second semester, Sophie starts at a slightly lower turn length than the end of the previous semester, then dips lower, culminating with the highest lengths at the end of the year abroad. As a point of comparison, José's average turn length over the course of the year was relatively constant, hovering around 50 words per turn, with more variation seen in the length of the longest turn, as seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 NS Turn Lengths

	First Semester			Second Semester		
NS José	Conv. 1	Conv. 2	Conv. 3	Conv. 4	Conv. 5	Conv. 6
Total # of turns	22	24	16	24	25	15
Average Length of turn	52.9	51.1	57.4	44.9	54.7	55.5
Range of turn length	1-312	1-307	1-418	1-380	1-368	1-199

(based on minutes 10-20 of each conversation. Following Edelsky (1993), backchannels were not counted as turns.)

To some degree it can be asserted that Sophie's changing performance in terms of turn length demonstrates that she is moving closer to the performance of her native speaker interactant in length of turn and, by extension, in terms of

ability to self select. Her progression, however, is not linear. This uneven progression points to one of the weaknesses of applying quantitative analysis to conversational data with the goal of tracing development. There are myriad factors that can affect the nature of the contributions of the interactants, such as each interactants' recent experiences, current preoccupations, mood, etc. The prejudices of the present research project call for attributing these performance differences to the relative level of IC of the learner. Sophie's level of IC, however, cannot and does not explain all components of her contributions to the interaction. Stated succinctly, there are two obvious factors at play in the differences among the relative turn lengths. In Conversations 3 and 6, at the end of each semester, Sophie has been traveling extensively and is also about to leave for the United States, circumstances that imply that she has much to say. This abundance of potential topics of conversation factors into her tendency to hold the floor for longer stretches of time. Her performance in Conversation 5 seems regressive, but can be understood when properly placed in context. This conversation took place after Sophie and José had already spoken English for 30 minutes prior to beginning in Spanish. In addition, Sophie's boyfriend called during the conversation, impatient that she was late. The fact that Sophie had already exhausted most topics of conversation and was distracted by her boyfriend's annoyance may help explain her relatively scant participation in the interaction. In general, topic of conversation is a factor in the NNS's participation in the interaction because background knowledge on which participation usually depends may vary greatly according to the topic. Appendix A provides a listing of general topics of all the six conversations. Regardless of the lack of a clear, stepwise progression of turn length, a global pattern of lengthening over the

course of the year is apparent, indicating perhaps that Sophie's ability to self-select when she was the current speaker was improving.

4.2.3 Current Speaker (NNS) Selects Other (NS)

Sophie's ability to select José when she is the current speaker appears to be well developed from the beginning of her stay, as seen in the following excerpt from Conversation 1, in which she makes a move to ascertain whether José knows the woman that she is speaking about or not.

Excerpt 4-2: Conversation 1

302		S -	fuimos allí con Pilar. *we went there with Pilar.*
303		J -	uhum
304	→	S -	conoces Pilar? *do you know Pilar?*
305		J -	sí sí, Pilar es muy amiga mía *yeah yeah, Pilar is a good friend of mine*

This particular example may be categorized as an intersubjectivity move to check for possible shared reference. Most of the moves in which Sophie selects José initially, however, are focused primarily on repair. Some repair requests, such as the following example, are focused on specific grammar issues such as gender or verb tense, while others deal with lexical deficiencies.

Excerpt 4-3: Conversation 1

220	→	S -	uh *el noche pasada. la noche? la noche? *uh, the (*masculine) night past. The (feminine) night? The (feminine) night?*
221		J -	sí, la noche [pasada]

yeah, the (feminine) past [night]

222 S - [La noche] pasada. y: me gusta mucho la Albaicín
[The past] night. And: I like the Albaicín a lot

As the year goes on, Sophie continues to select José with repair requests, but she also contributes a growing number of information type questions, related to intersubjectivity—confirming understanding of the context and/or asking further questions that expand understanding, as seen in excerpts 4-4 and 4-5.

Excerpt 4-4: Conversation 6

167 → S - hay algunos que a ellos les gusta pelear. yo he visto una pelea. sabes dónde está Fontana?
there are some that like to fight. I've seen a fight. do you know where Fontana is?

168 J - sí
yeah

169 S - la Fontana. eran chicos de [the program Sophie's participating in], pero no los conozco muy bien porque son de este semestre.
la Fontana. they were boys in [the program Sophie's participating in], but I don't know them very well because they're from this semester.

Excerpt 4-5: Conversation 4

107 J - . . . Dios mío, no he pasado tanto miedo en mi vida, hombre, yo tenía una edad muy joven, tenía doce años, pero de verdad me dio pánico
. . . my God, I've never been that scared in my life, man, I was really young, I was twelve years old, but really, it made me panic

108 S - por qué?
why?

109 J - es es muy:
it's it's very:

4.2.4 Current Speaker (NS) Selects Other (NNS)

Sophie's ability to be other-selected by José is another area worthy of analysis. This type of speaker selection is different than the previously discussed scenarios in that self- and other-selecting are ultimately optional—interactants can choose to select or not select at will, depending on their desire and/or ability to do so. Being other-selected, however, imposes the required element of a response. This sequence of a question followed by a response constitutes what is referred to in CA as an adjacency pair, as was discussed in section 2.2.3. Adjacency pairs are sequences in conversation in which the first speaker's turn (first pair part) predicts or projects the second speaker's turn (second pair part) (Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

To examine any apparent development in Sophie's ability to be other-selected, it is illustrative to focus on the questions that José poses to her and, more importantly, her responses. There are many types of question moves, but this analysis focuses solely on questions that warrant a verbal response; i.e., questions that are clearly first pair parts of adjacency pairs. Tag questions, such as no? and sabes? 'you know?' are not considered here as instances of current speaker selecting other, given their relatively weak status in projecting the second pair part.

It appears that Sophie is advanced enough in this aspect of IC that, starting in Conversation 1 and continuing through the year, she is generally aware when a question is posed to her by José. Compare this ability to recognize questions to less advanced speakers who often have questions completely slip past them or who do not realize that a question has been posed until after the speaker gives other recipiency signals. Despite Sophie's strong

abilities, however, there are indications that her interactional resources are yet to be fully developed. This observation is evidenced by the fact that Sophie often needs to have questions repeated to her before she can complete the second pair part, in a move known as an insertion sequence, as was discussed above in section 2.2.3. An insertion sequence is a sequence that breaks up an adjacency pair and generally constitutes an adjacency pair itself. In Sophie's case, her request for clarification or repetition is an insertion sequence that comes before her response to José's original question.

What is evident in Sophie's ability to respond to questions is a gradual reduction in the number of insertion sequences that she needs. A point of explanation is called for here. Insertion sequences are normal in conversation and occur for a variety of reasons, including clarification, misunderstanding, or simple problems in audio-reception (hearing). In the case of Sophie's need for insertion sequences, however, the analysis of the contexts of insertion sequences produced by Sophie supports the assertion that her need is not based on a hearing problem or a need for clarification, but rather some type of lack of comprehension that can be understood as representing an underdeveloped skill in IC. Numerous factors might be at play in this comprehension issue, including perhaps unfamiliar lexicon, lack of familiarity with some question constructions and intonation patterns, and rapid rate of delivery of the questions.

It is difficult to discern what elements of the questions that Sophie misses are most problematic for her. In the interest of having minimal impact on the learner's natural performance and acquisition, no recall information concerning difficulties was solicited from Sophie. In retrospect, this information may have

proven useful. Take, for example, excerpt 4-6 from Conversation 1, and excerpt 4-7 from Conversation 4.

Excerpt 4-6: Conversation 1

160	S -	me gusta la ciudad mucho y España en general. *I like the city a lot and Spain in general.*
161	J -	has estado en otros lugares de España? *have you been in other parts of Spain?*
162 →	S -	hm?
163	J -	has estado en otros lugares de España *have you been in other parts of Spain?*
164	S -	uh, sí. estábamos en Madrid *uh, yes. we were in Madrid*

Excerpt 4-7: Conversation 1

546	J -	hablas bien y: qué: qué has estudiado tú? qué carrera estás haciendo? *you speak well and: what: what have you studied? what course of study are you pursuing?*
547→	S -	qué: *what:*
548	J -	carrera (..) qué especialidad en la [universidad.] *course of study (..) what major in the university*
549	S -	[o] uh español. *[o], uh Spanish.*

In both instances, the questions that need repetition constitute stepwise topic transition initiators by José. Stepwise topic transition initiators are moves that initiate a shift in the conversation from one topic to another. Such moves do not constitute abrupt shifts; rather, they flow in a stepwise fashion from the previous topic. The fact that José's questions initiate topic shifts is not surprising though, as questions are often used to change the direction of the conversation. While it is tempting to attribute Sophie's lack of understanding to the difficulties

inherent in following topic shifts in a fast-paced conversation, it may be just as reasonable to imagine that the difficulties stem from a lack of familiarity with the grammatical structure or lexicon of the questions. The fact that she competently responds upon hearing the exact question repeated again tends to favor the former interpretation. Although it is not possible to ascertain the precise factors contributing to Sophie's need for repetition, it is justifiable to claim that there is evidence of improvement in the realm of being other-selected, as is clear in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 NNS Development in Fielding Questions

Conversation	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Total questions (excluding repeats)	17	7	12	14	12	4
Number of questions needing repetition	5	1	0	2	1	0
Percentage of questions needing repetition	29%	14%	0%	14%	8%	0%

Although the number of questions posed to her is small and consequently cannot statistically prove development, a pattern of change is evident. Like the data on turn length seen in Table 4.1, there is evidence of a peak in abilities in Conversation 3, followed by some apparent regression at the beginning of the following semester, culminating in another peak at the end of the year. The apparent regression could be due, in some part, to Sophie's return to the United States during the winter break and consequent lack of participation in interaction in Spanish for nearly a month.

4.3 ALIGNMENT ACTIVITY

Alignment refers to the ways in which interlocutors demonstrate their intersubjectivity. In other words, through alignment interlocutors show each other that they are understanding each other and are being understood. Alignment activity, as discussed in section 2.2.3.3, entails a varied constellation of features of interaction, including, among others, assessments, backchannels, formulations (rephrasing what has been said), and collaborative completions (completing the other interactants' utterances) (Nofsinger 1991). It can also include moves that add additional information in harmony with the previous speaker's move. These alignment moves index shared understanding and the ability to adopt the other's point of view, and the ability to speak in the other's voice.

This section analyses Sophie's development in three areas related to alignment activity: assessment; collaborative completions; and collaborative contributions, or moves that add additional information.

4.3.1 Assessment Activity

Assessment activity refers to the ways in which speakers evaluate the content of their interlocutors' contributions to the conversation. As alignment moves, they demonstrate to the speaker how their contributions are being understood. For the purpose of analyzing the assessments evident in the present research, it is useful to divide the assessments into two broad categories: assessments on the other participant's contributions; and those performed on one's own contributions.

4.3.1.1 Speaker Assesses Other's Contributions

The category of assessments on other's contributions refers to evaluative comments made by the hearer. Most commonly, assessments appear to be agreement markers such as nods, smiles, or sí 'yeah', markers that can also often be understood as backchannel cues. Sometimes they are more elaborate, as seen in excerpt 4-8 from the first conversation between from Sophie and José.

Excerpt 4-8: Conversation 1

172		S -	fuimos a la playa a Cabo de Gata *we went to the beach at Cabo de Gata*
173	→	J -	o:, qué bonito *o:, how pretty*

José's evaluation of the place Sophie mentions illustrates his shared knowledge or experience in the matter, demonstrating their intersubjectivity. This more expansive type of assessment has more evaluative weight than a simple agreement marker and as such implies a greater degree of participation in the assessment activity. An agreement marker is an indicator merely of reception of a speaker's evaluative description, while an elaborate assessment is a participatory move. Jefferson (1993) indicates that recipient assessments show more interactional engagement than acknowledgement tokens because assessments express an opinion (p. 11).

As illustrated by the above example, José participates elaborately in assessment activity from the first conversation he has with Sophie. Sophie, on the other hand, initially contributes mainly agreement markers. In the first conversation, with one exception, Sophie's assessments on José's contributions

are nods, laughs, one or more sí's 'yeah's', or a combination of these markers, as seen in examples 4-9 and 4-10.

Excerpt 4-9: Conversation 1

566	J -	sin embargo, trabajos de funcionarios de embajadas y todo eso sí hay muchísimos. tiene que ser algo interesantísimo. *anyway, there are a lot of civil service jobs in embassies and all that. it must be really interesting.*
567→	S -	sí (nods head) *yeah (nods head)*

Excerpt 4-10: Conversation 1

265	J -	y se puede pasear en compañía *and one can walk accompanied*
266	S -	uhum
267	J -	también es muy agradable. *it's also very nice*
268→	S -	sí (nods head, smiling) *yeah (nods head, smiling)*

Sophie's ability to perform these assessments indicates a certain level of competence in assessing José's contributions, especially implying competence in processing the conversation on pace with its flow. Assessment activity is highly collaborative and precisely timed activity, and these characteristics can make it difficult for a NNS to participate fully. Sophie's single elaborate assessment in Conversation 1, in fact, illustrates her apparently low skill level in terms of smooth incorporation of assessments into the flow of speech.

Excerpt 4-11: Conversation 1

269	J -	de todas formas, el Albaicín es un barrio muy curioso. [yo]= *anyway, the Albaicín is a really strange neighborhood. [I]=*
270	S -	[sí] *[yeah]*

271		J -	=tardé tres [años en aprender] *=took three [years to learn]*
272	→	S -	[interesante] *[interesting]*
273			(.)
274		J -	sí sí es- es precioso. tardé tres años en aprender a orientarme. dentro del Albaicín. . . . *yeah yeah it's- it's lovely. I took three years to learn how to orient myself. in the Albaicín. . . .*

In this exchange, José is talking about the Albaicín, a neighborhood of Granada with which Sophie is also familiar. Given their shared knowledge of the place, it is not surprising that it is in this context that Sophie produces a relatively elaborate co-evaluation in Conversation 1, sí 'yeah' followed by an adjective. What is striking, however, is how her assessment actually creates a bit of a glitch in the interaction, due to its late delivery. In line 269, José produces an assessment that is followed by Sophie's agreement marker. Sophie treats José's assessment as an initiation of assessment activity and, after a brief pause during which José has continued speaking, she produces a more elaborate assessment in line 272. This assessment overlaps with José's further talk in an unnatural way, since he has already closed the assessment activity and gone on to a new topic. After a brief silence in the conversation (line 273) in which neither interlocutor speaks, José acknowledges the assessment activity with his own evaluation, then continues on with his previously opened line of talk. This example illustrates how Sophie's ability to participate actively in assessment activity (and by extension, in conversation in general) is limited, perhaps by her slower production and processing skills.

Although Sophie's assessments on José's contributions are relatively limited in the first conversation, she does show considerable progress in the

year. There is a development towards more elaborate assessments, starting in Conversation 2 and generally increasing in variety and length through the course of the year abroad. Some are simply more elaborate agreement markers, such as <u>sí, yo creo que sí</u> 'yeah, I think so' and <u>a mí también</u> 'me too', as seen in excerpt 4-12.

Excerpt 4-12: Conversation 3

380	J -	… lo que pasa es que yo tengo una costumbre y es algo que me gusta mucho es comer fuera. *... the thing is that I have a habit and it's something that I like a lot, it is to eat out.*
381 →	S -	yo también, a mí también. (.) gasté mucho dinero en comida. no aquí porque mi señora cocina siempre. *I too, me too. (.) I spent a lot of money on food. not here because my host mother always cooks.*

Other elaborate assessments that appear more frequently as the year progresses include more descriptive evaluations, using adjectives or even more complex structures, such as in excerpts 4-13 and 4-14.

Excerpt 4-13: Conversation 5

403	J -	amigos muy íntimos y te da eso, te te te da pues pena, [no?]= *really close friends and it's makes you, it it it makes you sad, [right?]=*
404	S -	[sí] *[yeah]*
405	J -	=eso de de ((conocer a)) unos amigos por un año *=this situation of of ((knowing)) some friends for a year*
406 →	S -	sí, es triste. *yeah, it's sad.*
407	J -	sí. Es es eso, y luego de vez en cuando nos enviamos algún email. *yeah. That's that's it, and then from time to time we send each other an email.*

Excerpt 4-14: Conversation 4

398	J -	además, eran eran completamente capaces de *in addition, they were they were totally capable of*
399	S -	ugh
400	J -	hijos de puta. no se dedican, no se dedican algunos a- qué gentuza. *sons of a bitch. they don't devote themselves, some don't devote themselves to- what lowlifes.*
401 →	S -	sí, mala gente en este mundo. *yeah, bad people in this world.*

These two excerpts exemplify Sophie's greater capacity in active participation in assessment activity. In the excerpt from Conversation 5, Sophie makes a global emotional assessment of José's experience working at the language school, where every year he befriends some of the students and forms strong friendships that are effectively terminated at the end of the students' stay abroad. Sophie's assessment in line 406, sí, es triste 'yeah, it's sad' is effectively a reformulation of José's evaluation in line 403 that te da pena 'it makes you sad', and as such constitutes a strong indication of intersubjectivity. Similarly, in the excerpt from Conversation 4, in line 401 Sophie reformulates José's assessment from the previous line, again illustrating her growth in the ability to provide assessments and participate actively in alignment activity.

4.3.1.2 Speaker Assesses Own Contributions

Another pattern in Sophie's development of IC is that initially she appears to be more able to evaluate her own contributions elaborately than to participate elaborately in assessment activity performed on José's contributions to the interaction. This discrepancy may be understood, perhaps, as an earlier

development in producing assessments that are less spontaneous and less dependent on the emerging discourse. As Sophie is contributing narratives or other turns, she already knows her evaluation of them and can plan, to some extent, her assessments. Trying to assess José's contributions, however, entails a much more active attention to his contributions and a high degree of projecting to his assessment. As Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) indicate, the hearer has limited access to the speaker's topic of conversation and his assessment of it. The following excerpt, from Conversation 2, entails a multiple-turn assessment activity sequence that was initiated by Sophie, concerning morcilla, a type of blood sausage that is typical in Spanish cuisine.

Excerpt 4-15: Conversation 2

357→	S -	no me gustan, me gusta morcilla. blech. *I don't like, I don't like blood sausage. blech.*
358	J -	a mí me encanta. *I love it.*
359	S -	um, ugh. (laughing)
360	J -	me vuelve loco, pero [loco.] *it drives me crazy, just [crazy]*
361 →	S -	[no puedo] verlo, uck. *[I can't] see it (means look at it?), uck.*
362	J -	yo yo al principio, fíjate, me dijer- me dijeron esto es sangre de: sangre de cerdo. Y al principio decía qué asco. Dios mío. Pero oye, te juro que para mí es una pasión, [es que] *me, I at first, look, they tol- they told me this is blood of: blood of pig. And at first I said how disgusting. My god. But listen, I swear to you that for me it's a passion, [it's that]*
363→	S -	[no puedo] comerlo *[I can']t eat it*
364	J -	no me gusta comer pero eso es que me vuelve loco, Dios mío, que que cosa más buena. (laughs) *I don't like eating but it's this that it drives me crazy, my god, what what a good thing. (laughs)*
365	S -	la [primera vez] *the first time*
366	J -	[((me están entrando] los dolores))

(([my stomach] is rumbling))

367→ S - que yo lo vi ugh, que es eso? ughh. blood sausage. pero ella um cocina muy bien, y bastante sano,
that I saw it ugh, what's that? Ughh. <u>blood sausage</u>. but she um cooks very well, and pretty healthy,

This interaction is a highly co-constructive and playful exchange in which Sophie and José are in disagreement. Sophie uses a variety of assessment devices in this exchange, including a number of longer, syntactically complex turns in lines 357, 361, and 363. In addition, she makes active use of affect markers, or non-lexical utterances that express emotional responses. The interjections she uses, including 'ugh' and 'uck' are common to English speakers but are not conventional affect markers for Spanish, where one might expect to hear <u>puaj</u> or <u>puf</u> to express feelings of disgust. As such, they can be understood as instances of code-switching, although Sophie might not be aware of it in this case as she may not realize that affect markers are not universals; rather, they are culturally determined. In fact, assessment activity is one of the three main contexts in which Sophie shows some tendency to use English, either as interjections 'ugh, yuck, aw' or actual utterances 'I hate.' She uses English on occasion when assessing José's contributions in addition to when assessing her own. The use of English in this context perhaps underscores the emotional nature of some assessment activity and the primacy of the native language as the locus of emotion.

Sophie's turn in excerpt 4-15 at line 367 is essentially a mirror of José's turn at line 362. Both speak about what their initial reactions were to seeing blood sausage for the first time. José assesses the blood sausage with <u>qué asco</u> 'how disgusting' in his native language, while Sophie reacts with 'ugh, blood

sausage' in her native tongue. The highly charged emotional nature of some assessment activity may explain why this area is one in which Sophie uses English even when she clearly knows the lexical items in Spanish, such as 'blood sausage' in line 367 of excerpt 4-15 above and 'I hate' in excerpt 4-16 from Conversation 4.

Excerpt 4-16: Conversation 4

290	J -	el caso, aquí en Granada por ejemplo ha habido varios de de de de encontrar cadáveres de perros porque organizan peleas ilegales en las afueras *the case, here in Granada for example there have been various of of of of finding dog cadavers because they organize illegal fights in the outskirts*
291 →	S -	oh, yeah, I hate (whispered), odio esos oh, yeah. I hate (whispered), *I hate those*

In general, Sophie shows a rapid development in the area of producing evaluative comments on her own contributions. A point of explanation is in order. It is difficult to pinpoint with precision what exactly constitutes an assessment on one's own contribution, as slight changes in intonation or the use of certain types of adjectives, among other resources, may all function as assessment moves. Given this challenge, the classification of assessments on own contributions in this investigation is limited to evaluative utterances that are syntactically separated from other utterances, as seen in excerpt 4-17 from Conversation 2.

Excerpt 4-17: Conversation 2

29	S -	estuve resfriada también y ahora soy mejor *I had a cold too and now I'm better*
30	J -	ahah, o sea que has tenido un;

ahah, so you've had a:
31 → S - gracias a Dios
thank God

In this instance, Sophie relates a recent experience, then provides an evaluative comment, closing down the topic. Her evaluative comment in this case, gracias a Dios 'thank God', is a fixed expression in the language that is clearly separated syntactically from the previous utterance. In analyzing Sophie's development in producing assessments on her own utterances, we limited ourselves to these types of separate utterances.

As stated above, Sophie appears to be able to produce elaborate assessments earlier on her own contributions than on José's contributions. There are two main patterns of development that are apparent in her assessments on her own contributions. One observation is that in the first conversation between Sophie and José, Sophie produces almost no self-assessments. However, in light of the fact that José also produces comparatively few assessments on Sophie's contributions in Conversation 1, and by observing the contributions of each to the conversation, it is clear that José dominates in this first encounter. This finding may be due to Sophie's lack of familiarity with José or her lower level of IC at the beginning of her stay abroad, or perhaps a tendency of José's to lead in his first interactions with individual NNSs. Regardless of the precise nature of the cause of this dearth of self assessment activity, there is a clear and strong presence of self assessments by Sophie in Conversation 2, a presence that remains active for the rest of the year abroad. In Conversation 2, Sophie produces a wide range of self-assessments, including the above cited gracias a Dios 'thank God' in excerpt 4-17, the affect

markers and other complex structures seen in excerpt 4-15, various utterances with me gusta 'I like', es 'it's' or que 'how' followed by an adjective, affect markers, and other relatively short phrases, as seen in excerpts 4-18 and 4-19.

Excerpt 4-18: Conversation 2

19	S -	es un perfume de hombres, para hombres *it's a men's perfume, for men*
20	J -	ah?
21→	S -	pero me gusta mucho *but I like it a lot*

Excerpt 4-19: Conversation 2

375	S -	. . . le dije a mi señora que soy muy contenta con ella y su hija y me dijo, oh, estamos muy contenta contigo también. *. . . I told my host mother that I am very happy with her and her daughter and she told me, oh, we are very happy with you too.*
376	J -	un abrazo, y empieza a sonar música *a hug, and music starts playing*
377→	S -	ah, qué bonita. qué armonía. *ah, how pretty. what harmony.*

The second observation concerning Sophie's apparent ability to self assess is that there is little apparent development after her strong performance in Conversation 2. In the ensuing conversations, she continues producing a variety of self assessment moves, with the only change being that she shows some ability to produce syntactically and lexically more complex moves as the year goes on.

In sum, Sophie's contributions in assessment activity begin in Conversation 1 as primarily agreement markers with José's contributions or assessments. In Conversation 2, still early in her stay abroad, Sophie shows an

ability to assess her own contributions and a developing ability to assess José's contributions with more than just agreement markers. By the end of the year, she has a wider repertoire in assessments in both contexts, including relatively complex non-frozen forms and expressions. She is not, however, assessing like her native speaker interlocutor. If it is appropriate to measure her performance against José's, very clear differences emerge. José provides assessments much more frequently, both for his own and Sophie's contributions. His assessments tend to be much longer and, additionally, he frequently repeats or rephrases his assessments, as seen in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 4-20: Conversation 3

130	S -	ahah. en los Estados Unidos, en mi universidad, tenemos un mes de vacaciones. cinco semanas. *ahah. in the United States, at my university, we have a month of vacation. five weeks.*
131	J -	uhum. pero eso es Navidad? *uhum. but that's Christmas?*
132	S -	sí, por Navidad. *yeah, for Christmas*
133→	J -	qué suerte, qué suerte. *how lucky, how lucky.*

Excerpt 4-21: Conversation 4

295 →	J -	que incluso eso es todavía más más fuerte, no, quiero decir, encima les echan perros que no se pueden defender, simplemente para que para que los destrocen, y además es muy feo, muy injusto *and even this is even more more disturbing, right, I mean, to top it off they put in dogs that can't defend themselves, just so that so that they destroy them, and also it's very ugly, very unjust*

Excerpt 4-22: Conversation 4

351	S -	sí, no crezcan, sí. y pon un tubo para alimentar *yeah, they don't grow, yeah. and put a tube to feed*
352→	J -	qué mala [leche] *how messed [up]*
353	S -	[sí] y respirar, es me da asco. *[yeah] and to breath, it's it disgusts me.*
354→	J -	qué mala leche *how messed up*
355	S -	y no entiendo cómo este hombre puede hacer esto. y es un gatito en un una botella, su cara está así. (makes pitiful face) *I don't understand how this man can do this. and it's a kitten in a bottle, it's face is like this.(makes pitiful face)*
356→	J -	qué cosa más horrible. *what a horrible thing.*

These excerpts serve to exemplify José's strong tendency to repeat his assessments and in some cases to rephrase them. This resource is one that Sophie does not appear to have yet developed, or at least that she does not exercise in her interactions with José. Her interactional resources for assessing have developed over the course of the year, but they can still not be considered to be on par with her native speaker interlocutor. In general, she is able to provide elaborate assessments for her own and José's contributions, but the assessments lack the variety, length, and repetition seen in José's assessment activity.

4.3.2 Collaborative Completions

Collaborative completions are moves in which an interactant completes another interactant's utterance (Nofsinger 1991; Lerner 1989, 1996). This move exemplifies a high degree of alignment in that the listener completely adopts the speaker's point of view and speaks in his own voice.

Evidence of Sophie's ability to perform these types of moves does not appear until her second semester abroad. Again this pattern may be related to her growing competence in the realm of being able to project on the emerging discourse. Sophie's first collaborative completion occurs in Conversation 4, seen below in excerpt 4-23, when she and José are discussing dogfights and aggressive dogs in general.

Excerpt 4-23: Conversation 4

307	J -	aparte de luego las características del perro. pero que me parece, me parece terrible eso *apart from them the characteristics of the dog. but it seems that seems terrible to me*
308	S -	uhum
309	J -	de que encima, además para convertirlos en en: en bestias salvajes tengan que sacrificar otros animales que: *that on top, in addition to turning them into into: into wild beasts they have to sacrifice other animals that:*
310	S -	sí *yeah*
311	J -	no estaban: [en fin] *weren't: [well]*
312→	S -	[inocentes] *[innocent]*
313	J -	sí. hombre de todos modos también te digo una cosa. no soy especialmente amante de de de los animales, no . . . *yeah. man anyway also I'll tell you something. I'm not necessarily a lover of of of animals, right . . .*

The completion by Sophie in line 312 is interesting on a few counts. First, it is noteworthy because it is a completion and, as such, it constitutes a sophisticated alignment move, marking a strong ability to attend to the emerging discourse. Sophie produces a description, <u>inocentes</u> 'innocent', that clearly describes the other animals involved in training dogs to be aggressive. This

completion, however, is also compelling due to its deficiencies. Sophie's completion, while wholly understandable, is neither grammatically nor logically correct. José's insertion of a negative element before the copular verb changes the direction of the utterance from what Sophie had apparently initially projected to be an affirmative description of the animals. Additionally, the copular verb that he uses, estar 'to be', is generally not used with the adjective that she uses. Thus, it is clear that although Sophie is beginning to show the interactional resource of producing a collaborative completion, she has still not demonstrated a highly competent ability in this arena. In excerpt 4-24 from Conversation 5, however, she displays highly developed abilities.

Excerpt 4-24: Conversation 5

125	J -	sí, en en el en los primeros años de después de la llegada de los españoles a América, creo que eh murió cerca del del: setenta por ciento de la población que había en América, pero no por no por asesinato ni por *yeah, in in the in the first years after the arrival of the Spaniards to the Americas, I think that uh close to to seventy percent of the population that there was in the Americas died, but no by not by murder nor by*
126	S -	uhum
127	J -	ni por nada parecido, simplemente porque no estaban acostumbrados [a ((? el cuerpo))] *nor for anything like that, simply because they weren't accustomed [to (? the body)]*
128→	S -	[sí a los las] enfermedades *[yeah to the the] diseases*

In this excerpt, Sophie seamlessly completes in line 128 José's utterance with no gap between their turns, rather it is an extended segment of overlapped interaction. This precision timing is even more impressive considering that José

has not paused nor produced a sound stretch, like he has in the previous excerpt from Conversation 4. This excerpt shows clear evidence of Sophie's competent deployment of the interactional resource of completion. The only indication that this utterance is anything other than a completion is the marker sí 'yeah' before the completion, breaking up the syntactic unity of their co-constructed utterance. In Conversation 6, however, Sophie produces a completion that is wholly united with José's previous utterance.

Excerpt 4-25: Conversation 6

158	J -	. . . pues coño, es que la nariz y el diente son huesos, [sabes?] *. . . well hell, it's that the nose and the tooth are bones, [you know?]*
159	S -	[sí] *[yeah]*
160	J -	no es nada no es nada= *it's nothing it's nothing=*
161	S -	sí *yeah*
162	J -	=frágil. *=fragile.*
163	S -	uh[um]
164	J -	[que] son cosas normalmente eh: [resistentes sabes?] *[that] they are things that are normally uh: [resistant you know?]*
165→	S -	[fuertes, sí] *[strong, yeah]*
166	J -	pues coño, pues por esa . . . *well hell, well for this . . .*

This excerpt shows Sophie's clear alignment to José's contributions and her highly adept skill at deploying the interactional resource of completion. José's sound stretch in line 164 marks the initiation of a word search, or an instance where speakers display difficulty in finding the right word with which to complete

their thought (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986). Sophie's completion in line 165 is precisely timed, perfectly grammatical, and highly appropriate for the context. Lerner (1996) indicates that "early opportunistic completion of a word search is a device that can be used to initiate or sustain a special alignment with a speaker, one of story consociateship or association co-membership rather than recipientship" (262-263). Sophie's collaborative completion in this instance may be interpreted as evidence of substantial development in her ability to deploy alignment markers effectively.

4.3.3 Collaborative contributions

Collaborative contributions constitute a variety of move types that add additional information that is in harmony with the previous speaker's move. These moves can include formulations, or utterances that rephrase the previous turn, and turns that simply add more information.

Sophie's ability to provide collaborative contributions appears early on in the year abroad, even in Conversation 1, seen in excerpt 4-26.

Excerpt 4-26: Conversation 1

313	J -	es relajante. es relajante. pues aquí sí nos suele gustar mucho la lluvia *it's relaxing. it's relaxing. well here yeah we tend to like the rain a lot*
314	S -	sí *yeah*
315	J -	porque suele llover muy poco. *because it tends to rain very little.*
316→	S -	muy seco. *very dry.*

Sophie's move in line 316 rephrases José's utterance and in so doing, illustrates her intersubjectivity.

In addition, Sophie participates early on making lists with José. List making is a co-constructive move that is almost a cross between a collaborative completion and a collaborative contribution: contributing to a list both adds additional information and completes the other speaker's utterance.

Excerpt 4-27: Conversation 1

341	J -	. . . te lo digo tengo un amiguete que es que es inglés y siempre me lo está diciendo, siempre me está preguntando esto es femenino o masculino *. . . I tell you I have a friend who is who is English and he's always saying it to me, he's always asking me is this feminine or masculine*
342	S -	sí (laughs) *yeah (laughs)*
343	J -	femenino o masculino. siempre me hace la misma pregunta, sabes? *feminine or masculine. he always asks me the same question, you know?*
344→	S -	sí, y por y para, ser y estar. *yeah, and por and para, ser and estar.*

Excerpt 4-28: Conversation 2

60	J -	ya te digo, es como en inglés no pain no gain *anyway, it's like in English, <u>no pain no gain</u>*
61	S -	sí *yeah*
62	J -	o sea para presumir, hay que sufrir. *or to show off, you have to suffer.*
63→	S -	suffer for beauty, sufrir para belleza *<u>suffer for beauty</u>, suffer for beauty*

Excerpt 4-29: Conversation 3

375	J -	sí sí, porque sí no voy a pasarme el día viviendo a base de

		pizzas, *yeah yeah, because yeah I'm not going to spend the day living off of pizzas*
376	S -	ahah
377	J -	de canelones y lasaña *canalones and lasagna*
378→	S -	ahah, bocadillos *ahah, sandwiches*
379	J -	patatas fritas. lo que pasa es que yo tengo una costumbre y es algo que me gusta mucho es comer fuera *French fries. the thing is that I have a habit and it's something that I like is to eat out.*

In excerpt 4-27 from Conversation 1, Sophie contributes to José's comment that his NNS friend always asks if a word is feminine or masculine by contributing a list of other types of doubts that a NNS might have. In excerpt 4-28 from Conversation 2, José has previously assessed Sophie's contribution with an aphorism <u>para presumir hay que sufrir</u> 'to show off you have to suffer' that he later (in line 60) rephrases in English. Sophie's turn in line 63 is essentially the third in a list of aphorisms related to the topic, but ostensibly Sophie's English version in line 63 actually captures the meaning of the original <u>para presumir, hay que sufrir</u> better than José's attempt in English of 'no pain, no gain.' In excerpt 4-29 from Conversation 3, José has already begun a list of the types of meals that bachelors eat, and Sophie adds a contribution of her own to this list. These examples show that Sophie is adept at participating in the co-constructive endeavor of list making, both in contributing to lists already started and in initiating lists related to the topic on hand.

Another type of contribution that Sophie performs are moves that add additional information or perspective, such as the following excerpt from Conversation 6.

Excerpt 4-30: Conversation 6

66 J - estaba acusado de dos asesinatos y y parece ser que que: que lo que pasó en realidad. vamos, no estoy muy, ((lo han suelto, no lo han suelto)). lo han declarado no culpable. y parece ser que era eso, no, quiero decir, que se empezaban a montar a partir de que necesitaban un culpable, se empezaban a montar una una película y al final todos los testimonios han resultado ser, han resultado ser falsos. qué fuerte, cómo puede pasar eso.
he was accused of two murders and and it seems that that: that what happened in reality. well, I'm not very, ((they've released him, they haven't released him)). they've declared him not guilty. and it seems that it was that, right, I mean, que they were starting to set up since they need a culprit, they were starting to set up a a movie and in the end all the testimonies have turned out to be, turned out to be false. how disturbing, how can that happen.

67 S - y no tenían pruebas físicas no, o no había su sangre o nada de eso.
and they didn't have physical proof right, or there wasn't his blood or anything like that.

In the exchange in 4-30, José is talking about a Spaniard who was on death row in the United States, convicted on the basis of testimony that later was determined to have been false. After José related many of the details of the case and concludes with an assessment, Sophie brings up more of the details about the evidence, bolstering José's argument about the injustice of the conviction and clearly demonstrating her alignment with José, in terms both of her knowledge of the incident and her ideological orientation to it. This exchange also underscores the role of background knowledge in alignment activity, particularly in collaborative contributions. Sophie would not be able to participate in alignment activity to the same extent if she were not following current events in the news.

Her interest in world events is part of what makes her a good conversation partner with José, because it is an interest that they share.

Contributing additional information to José's contributions is a resource that is evident in Sophie's speech beginning in Conversation 2, as seen below in excerpt 4-31.

Excerpt 4-31: Conversation 2

184	J -	pero, lo que pasa es que aquí, el calor, no es de llevar ropa, no te equivoques, aquí hasta las siete de la tarde, no se puede salir a la calle. *but, what happens is that here, the heat, it's not about wearing clothing, don't even think it, here until seven at night, you can't even be out on the street.*
185	S -	sí, y duer- la gente duerme *yeah, and slee- the people sleep*
186	J -	sí sí sí, la siesta, la siesta porque . . . *right right right, the siesta, the siesta because . . .*

Finally, an additional type of collaborative contribution that Sophie supplies to the interactions is what we will refer to as image co-construction. These moves occur in instances in which an interactant is talking about a personal experience that the other interactant was not involved in. Although the hearers cannot contribute additional personal information, they contribute comments that help amplify the scene that the original speaker is portraying. These co-constructive episodes can be quite playful, as seen in excerpt 4-32 from Conversation 2.

Excerpt 4-32: Conversation 2

375	S -	y ella, um, le dije que: me gusta mucho la comida y que, y ella me preguntó si mis otras amigas están contentas con sus señoras y sus casas y una de mis amigas uh tenía problemas

con su con su señora y le dije a mi señora que soy muy contenta con ella y su hija y me dijo, oh, estamos muy contenta contigo también.
and she, um, I told her that: I like the food a lot and that, and she asked me if my other friends are happy with their host mothers and their houses and one of my friends uh had problems with her with her host mother and I told my host mother that I am very happy with her and her daughter and she told me, oh, we are very happy with you too.

376→ J - un abrazo, y empieza a sonar música
a hug, and music starts playing

377→ S - ah, qué bonita. qué armonía.
ah, how pretty. what harmony.

378 J - qué alegría.
what happiness.

In this exchange, Sophie is relating a conversation that she had had with her host mother, mi señora, which ends up with them telling each other that they are very happy with each other. José picks up on the sappiness of the scene and contributes an image co-construction comment in line 376, creating a situation comedy-like scene with the music swelling in the background. Although José is the initiator of this collaborative contribution, Sophie also plays a role in building it, through her assessment of the scene in line 377. Together they transform Sophie's conversation with her host mother into the resolution scene of a sitcom. In this case, however, José initiated the image co-construction and Sophie merely plays a role in building it. In excerpt 4-33, from Conversation 4, she is actually the initiator of the sequence.

Excerpt 4-33: Conversation 4

223 J - pues yo tengo mucha confianza con la perra
well I have good relationship with the dog

224 S - sí
yeah

225	J -	y cuando me ve se alegra y se sube encima de mí *and when she sees me she gets happy and jumps up on me*
226	S -	uhum
227	J -	y tal, y claro. el otro, como lo ve, le da le da envidia y quiere hacer lo mismo. *and the like, and of course. the other one, since he sees her, he gets jealous and he wants to do the same thing.*
228	S -	sí *yeah*
229	J -	y venirse y sentarse encima de mí, bueno *and come over and sit on me, well*
230→	S -	it's like= *<u>it's like</u>*=
231	J -	no te puedes ni imaginar *you can't imagine*
232→	S -	estás esperando para que: (holding neck) *you're waiting so that: (holding neck)*
233	J -	sí sí sí, *right right right*

In this segment, José is talking about his father's girlfriend's two dogs, one a small poodle who likes to sit in José's lap, and the other a male pit bull who would like to do the same. Sophie's reaction to his story is to provide an image of what emotional reaction José must be having when the pit bull tries to sit on him. Her image co-construction move, initiated in line 230, may be considered to be expressed in a relatively incompetent manner, involving an English discourse marker and a gesture that fills in for her apparent difficulty in expressing the notion. This type of move, however, is also a feature of NS discourse. Moves that are initiated orally but are completed through gesture at a point where the trajectory can be projected have been labeled 'embodied completions' and are not uncommon in NS interactions (Olsher 2004; Mori and Hayashi 2006). In Sophie's case, her move clearly shows her alignment with José's situation and she contributes to the image that he has already expressed.

Image co-construction moves can also be realized as instances where the hearer adopts the voice of the speaker, as in excerpt 4-34 from Conversation 3.

Excerpt 4-34: Conversation 3

387	J -	y muchas veces, pues cuando tengo que trabajar por la mañana y por la tarde, llamo a un amigo, a quien sea, oye, eh, me paso por tu casa *and a lot of times, well when I have to work in the morning and the afternoon, I call a friend, whoever, hey, uh, I'll stop by your house*
388	S -	ahah
389	J -	a sí, bueno, y te invito a comer, y yo fantástico *oh yeah, great, come have lunch, and I'm, like, awesome*
390 →	S -	sí, muy bien *yeah, very good*

In this excerpt, José is talking about his predisposition to getting his friends to invite him to their houses for lunch. In line 389, José is essentially quoting the type of interaction that occurs in these instances, when his friends invite him over and he says <u>fantástico</u> 'awesome.' In the following turn, Sophie joins in on his quoted conversation and, adopting his voice as is clear from the intonation, if not in the transcription, she adds <u>sí, muy bien</u> 'yeah, very good.'

It is clear from the above examples that Sophie has the ability to make collaborative contributions with a variety of move types. This competence is one that she seems to have had already developed before the beginning of her stay abroad. Over the course of the year the moves become more sophisticated in terms of length and complexity but, ultimately, it can be stated that Sophie's level of IC in terms of the particular interactional resource of collaborative contribution was already well established.

4.4 TOPIC MANAGEMENT

Conversations flow from topic to topic. How interactants manage this flow is an area that has been investigated by researchers in CA, as was discussed in section 2.2.3.4. This present section analyzes the role that Sophie plays in topic management and the changes that are evident over the course of the year abroad. Specifically, the analysis addresses topic initial elicitors and topic transition markers.

4.4.1 Topic Initial Elicitors

Topic initial elicitors (TIEs), defined by Button and Casey (1984), are moves that seek to generate new topics without introducing specific topics of their own. In the six conversations, there are four clearly identifiable instances of TIEs. Not surprisingly, perhaps, considering the presumably more powerful role of the NS in these conversations, all of these four TIEs are moves made by José. Three of them take place at or near the beginning of the conversations, following the pattern established by Button and Casey (1984) that TIEs often occur following conversational openings.

Excerpt 4-35: Conversation 2

6→	J -	y y y, como nos hemos encontrado a las siete y medio, digo joder, pero no nos vamos a despedir ya, acércate por allí. bueno, qué has hecho de estos días ((que no nos vemos)). *and and and since we ran into each other at seven thirty, I say damn, we can't say goodbye yet, come on over. anyway, what have you done in these days ((that we haven't seen each other)).*
7	S -	ah, huelo muy fuerte porque: me: me puse? *uh, I smell very strong because: I: I put on?*

Excerpt 4-36: Conversation 4

1→	J -	bueno, cuéntame, qué tal, cómo te ha ido? *so, tell me, how are you, how has it been going?*
2	S -	bien *fine*
3	J -	desde cuando no nos vemos? *how long has it been since we saw each other?*
4	S -	hm?
5	J -	desde cuando no nos vemos? *how long has it been since we saw each other?*
6	S -	hace mucho tiempo, creo *it's been a while, I think*
7	J -	pero nos vimos después de Navidad, verdad? *but we saw each other after Christmas, right?*
8	S -	sí, en enero creo *yeah, in January I think*
9	J -	estuviste contando que habías estado en Italia y todo eso *you were telling me that you'd been in Italy and all that*
10	S -	sí *yeah*
11→	J -	y desde entonces, qué? *and since then, what?*
12	S -	um, he ido a Marruecos [otra vez] *um, I've gone to Morocco [again]*
13	J -	[otra] vez *[a]gain*

In excerpt 4-35 from Conversation 2, Sophie and José have not really begun their conversation. Instead, José has been talking about his friend that he came across in the street and brought to the meeting. His turn in line 6 effectively closes down that episode of the interaction, then seeks to find out from Sophie if she has anything newsworthy to report. In excerpt 4-36 from Conversation 4, José's TIE is the first turn in the whole interaction, attempting to generate a topic related to Sophie's experiences. His initial steps do not succeed in establishing any topic; thus, he attempts again in line 11 to generate a topic, this time successfully.

The fact that it is José who is the primary producer of TIEs is not wholly surprising. There appears to be from early on a dynamic that José takes more responsibility for getting Sophie involved in the conversation. Although Sophie makes many moves that encourage José to keep the floor, either as backchannel cues or short boundaried questions, she rarely makes use of open questions such as TIEs that would invite José to take the floor. The closest example to a TIE that Sophie produces occurs late in Conversation 1.

Excerpt 4-37: Conversation 1

528	J -	una forma distinta por cada pueblo. pero ya no, no es que se trate de de: de acento, es que es completa[mente distinto] *a different way in each village. but no, it's not that it's about about: about the accent, it's that it's complete[ly different]*
529	S -	[sí, sí] *[yeah yeah]*
530	J -	pero bueno. *but anyway.*
531	S -	sí *yeah*
532	J -	ay. por cierto. (looks at watch) *oh. right. (looks at watch)*
533	S -	(looks at watch)
534	J -	pero bueno, ay. pues, ya te digo que (laughs) *but well, oh. well, anyway (laughs)*
535→	S -	(laughs) qué más. *(laughs) what else.*
536	J -	no, pero de todas formas, eh uh tú hablas más que que Susan y: Megan, sabes? *no, but anyway, eh uh you speak more than than Susan and: Megan, you know?*

Sophie's attempt here to generate further topics from José occurs at a major lull near the end of Conversation 1, when they both appear to have run out of things to talk about. The prior turns have been marked by long pauses, a

number of topic closing markers by José, and both of the interactants looking at their watches. Sophie's utterance in line 535 appears to be related to the elicited nature of the interaction and the desire to comply with the researcher's request that they speak for 30 minutes, rather than just closing the conversation. In fact, Sophie's move is not ratified by José as a TIE in the prototypical fashion established by Button and Casey in which the TIE is followed by a report of an event as a possible topic, followed thereafter by a topicalizer by the interactant who uttered the TIE (167). Instead, it appears to constitute a move that recognizes that they have reached an extended pause in the conversation and that it needs to be filled.

Another type of topic elicitor that Sophie does not appear to use is that of **itemized news inquiries** (Howe 1991). Itemized news inquiries, like TIEs, have the function of attempting to elicit newsworthy reports from the recipient. Itemized new inquiries, however, do have some degree of limitation or specificity; asking if an interlocutor had traveled or seen a good movie recently seeks newsworthy items but limits the possible topics. There are a number of instances in which José employs this type of move.

Excerpt 4-38: Conversation 3

1→	J -	oye, has viajado estos días o qué? *hey, have you traveled these days o what?*
2	S -	sí, uh yo fui a Marruecos *yeah, uh I went to Morocco*
3	J -	uhum
4	S -	y es una maravilla *and it's beautiful*

Excerpt 4-39: Conversation 6

276→	J -	. . . tiene que ser algo muy desagradable. puf, pero yo qué

sé. bueno, y, qué planes tienes para el verano?
. . . it must be very unpleasant. oof, but what do I know. well, and, what plans do you have for the summer?

277 S - oh, espero que: pueda viajar por Europa, quiero ir a Bélgica
oh, I hope that: I can travel through Europe, I want to go to Belgium

In both of these cases, the moves proffered by José resemble TIEs in all aspects other than their slightly more bounded nature. Sophie, however, never makes moves of this nature. All of the questions that she asks José are of a more closed and informational nature, showing interest, but not moving in the same way towards checking to see if there are newsworthy topics to report. Sophie's questions tend to be more focused on repair and details, as seen in examples 4-40 to 4-44.

Excerpt 4-40: Conversation 6

82 J - y allí se ve muy bien lo que es, yo no he estado nunca en los Estados Unidos, no he estado nunca, pero es inevitable ver películas relacionadas con alguna cosa u otra. y creo que allí se ve bien lo que es siempre el miedo al forastero, no?
and there you see very well what it is, I've never been in the United States, I've never been, but it's inevitable to see movies dealing with something or other. I think that there you see really well what is always the fear of strangers, right?

83→ S - el qué?
the what?

84 J - el miedo al forastero, al extraño, que existe en: en en, vamos, no puedo hablar de todo los Estados Unidos porque porque por ejemplo hay ciudades, la ciudad más cosmopolita del mundo es Nueva York posiblemente. O sea que, pero en muchas zonas así más digamos rurales o más tranquilas, existe este miedo, no?
fear of strangers, of outsiders, that exists in: in in, let's see, I can't speak for all the United States because because for example there are cities, the most cosmopolitan city of the world is possibly New York. I mean that, but in a lot of zones

let's say more rural or more peaceful, there exists this fear, right?

Excerpt 4-41: Conversation 6

374 J - me cago en la mar. tengo clase ahora a las seis, terrible.
shit. I have class now at six, terrible.
375→ S - en en Centro?
in in Center?
376 J - um, tengo clase de inglés, un curso intensivo, dos horas cada día, todos los días con este
um, I have an English class, an intensive course, two hours every day, every day with this

Excerpt 4-42: Conversation 5

37 J - tiene declinaciones.
it has declinations.
38→ S - has visto oh ah Star Wars?
have you seen Star Wars?
39 J - sí
yeah
40 S - alemán es como como habla Yoda
German is like like Yoda speaks

Excerpt 4-43: Conversation 5

286 S - en Europa en el verano
in Europe in the summer
287 J - uhum
288→ S - no hace buen [tiempo?]
it's not nice [weather?]
289 J - [um, no lo] sé. nunca he estado en Europa en el verano. estuve en Istanbul, que no es Europa. bueno, sí, es Europa, la mitad de Istanbul es Europa.
[um, I don't] know. I've never been in Europe in the summer. I was in Istanbul, which isn't Europe. Well, yeah, it is Europe, half of Istanbul is Europe.

Excerpt 4-44: Conversation 5

380→ S - cuan, por cuánto tiempo has
how, for how long have
381 J - tres

three

382 S - tres años?
three years?

Ultimately, it appears that Sophie's role in the elicitation of new topics is extremely limited. She does not use TIEs, nor does she use similar question types that also have the goal of generating a topic from the other's experience. The onus of eliciting topics falls on José.

4.4.2.Topic Transition Markers

Another interactional resource that was analyzed in Sophie's speech was her use of topic transition markers. This loosely delineated term encompasses a variety of lexical items and behaviors that tend to occur around the openings and closings of topics. Before we analyze Sophie's use of topic transition markers, it is useful to mention some of the moves that José makes around topic borders. José uses a variety of discourse markers, assessments, and syntactic cues that mark topic transition. In the following excerpts, we see a number of his markers occurring around the borders of topics.

Excerpt 4-45: Conversation 1

113→ J - llegó al Centro y la tuvimos que llevar a urgencias con pulmonía o sea
she arrived at the Center and we had to take her to the emergency room with pneumonia I mean

114 S - ah sí
oh yeah

115→ J - ya te digo
anyway

116 S - siempre está frío para mí
it's always cold for me

117→ J - pero que que ya te digo. aquí aquí el tiempo lo que pasa es que el tiempo es muy seco y es muy es muy drástico
but any anyway. here here the weather the thing is that the weather is really dry and it's very it's very drastic

Excerpt 4-46: Conversation 4

309 J - de que encima, además para convertirlos en en: en bestias salvajes tengan que sacrificar otros animales que:
that on top, in addition to turning them into into: into wild beasts they have to sacrifice other animals that:
310 S - sí
yeah
311→ J - no estaban: [en fin]
weren't: [well]
312 S - [inocentes]
[innocent]
313→ J - sí. hombre de todos modos también te digo una cosa. no soy especialmente amante de de de los animales, no . . .
yeah. man anyway also I'll tell you something. I'm not necessarily a lover of of of animals, right . . .

In excerpt 4-45 from Conversation 1, José closes down the topic with a number of discourse markers that he often uses, including o sea 'I mean', ya te digo 'anyway', and pero que: 'but so:'. His opening to the next topic includes the adverbial aquí 'here', repeated, and lo que pasa 'the thing is.' All of these elements function to mark the border by indicating first that nothing is left to be said about the initial topic, then initiating the following topic with the adverbial and the conventionalized discourse marker lo que pasa. Likewise, in excerpt 4-46 from Conversation 4, José closes down the topic with the discourse marker en fin 'well' and initiates the next topic with a series of four discourse markers in a row: hombre, de todos modos, también, te digo una cosa 'man, anyway, also, I'll tell you something.' Thus, he forms essentially a preamble to the topic or, as Crow (1983) indicates, a pre-act that bounds the topic. Excerpts 4-46 and 4-47

elucidate the number and variety of discourse markers that José uses both to close down and to initiate topics. In addition to the discourse markers and adverbials seen in the above examples, José also uses assessments, both at the beginning and end of topics, as seen in excerpt 4-47.

Excerpt 4-47: Conversation 5

212	S -	pero, el año ha pasado *yes, but the year has passed*
213	J -	muy rápido *very fast*
214	S -	sí, muy rápido. *yes, very fast*
215→	J -	bueno, es normal *well, it's normal*
216	S -	sí *yeah*
217	J -	cuando lo pasas bien *when you're having a good time*
218	S -	Umm
219 →	J -	joder, qué envidia. yo ya, ya perdí mi oportunidad, pero, pero desde que entré a trabajar en el Centro, tengo muchísima envidia por la gente que viene aquí a estudiar. *damn, what envy. I already, already missed my opportunity, but, but since I entered work at the Centro, I really envy the people who come here to study.*

In excerpt 4-47, Sophie initiates a topic with the transition marker <u>pero</u> 'but.' José shows his alignment with her through completing her sentence, then makes a number of assessment moves that effectively close down the topic. His behavior is similar to a pattern observed in English by Jefferson (1993) in which a speaker may use an assessment preceding a topic shift as a way to display attention to the preceding talk and shift to a new topic (p. 28). José's assessment closes down the preceding topic while showing interest in the topic,

and provides transition to the new topic of conversation. Altogether, discourse markers, assessments, and repetitions are topic transition markers that appear to be prevalent in native speakers' speech, based on analysis of José's behavior and researchers of English talk, such as Jefferson (1993), Crow (1983), and Howe (1991).

Sophie's contributions to topic transition are limited. Although she does use some markers and shows some development over the course of her stay in Granada, she is still far from achieving native-like use of these interactional resources at the end of the year abroad. Her primary form of providing topic transition markers is the use of sí 'yeah', pero 'but', or y 'and', or a combination of these elements, as seen in excerpts 4-48 and 4-49.

Excerpt 4-48: Conversation 1

19	J -	sabes? y y y no bueno no me gusta que se= *you know? and and and I don't, well, I don't like=*
20	S -	sí *yes*
21	J -	=rían de mí por eso no lo hago *=people to laugh at me so I don't do it.*
22→	S -	sí. practiqué mucho con mi familia *yes, I practiced a lot with my family*
23	J -	uhum
24	S -	porque la hija ..sabe inglés *because the daughter .. . knows English*

Excerpt 4-49: Conversation 2

86	S -	el fin de semana que viene vamos a Sevilla, con todo el grupo. *next weekend we're going to Seville, with the whole group*
87	J -	para ((?)) *for ((?))*
88	S -	Abby también. *Abby too.*

89 J - (laughs)
90→ S - sí, pero y durante las vacaciones cortas en diciembre quiero ir a Alemania, y hoy, uh envié correo electrónico
yeah, but and during the short vacations in December I want to go to Germany and today uh I sent email

Sophie's contributions show little development in the use of discourse markers over the course of the year. Late in the year she still relies primarily on the abovementioned sí, pero, and y, although some other markers, such as pues 'well', porque 'because', and no sé 'I don't know' are gradually incorporated into her discourse, as seen in excerpts 4-50 and 4-51.

Excerpt 4-50: Conversation 3

74 S - todo el mundo habla árabe y francés
everybody speaks Arabic and French
75 J - claro
of course
76→ S - pero nadie habla inglés. pues, y en Tánger?
but nobody speaks English. well, and in Tangiers?

Excerpt 4-51: Conversation 3

92 S - sí, y: él no le gusta Tánger porque es muy, no sé, no hay, hay una ciudad pero es un poca una poca fea
yeah, and: he doesn't like Tangiers because it's very, I don't know, there isn't, there is a city but it's a little a little ugly
93 J - Uhum
94→ S - y no sé. pero yo no tenía miedo porque estaba
and I don't know. but I wasn't afraid because I was
95 J - estabas acompañada . . .
you were accompanied . . .

Sophie appears to have a greater variety of makers related to opening new topics than to closing them down. Her topic openers eventually show signs of complexity that approach the level of the NS, albeit with different markers than

those used by José. In Conversation 6, for example, she uses questions that seek to confirm alignment with her interactants.

Excerpt 4-52: Conversation 6

21	J -	eso, procurar de no llevar nada ilegal *that's it, try not to take anything illegal*
22→	S -	no no no, yo no voy a llevar nada, pero yo no quiero que ellos me tocan. lo que ha pasado a la pareja español. Habáis oído de ésa? *no no no, I'm not going to take anything, but I don't want them to touch me. what happened to the Spanish couple. have you heard of that?*

In this excerpt, Sophie initially introduces her new topic with the expression lo que ha pasado a la pareja español 'what happened to the Spanish couple.' This structure, using lo que 'what', is a feature in many of José's topic initiations. In addition, she follows her introduction with a question to ascertain intersubjectivity, habáis oído de esa 'have you heard of that,' a question that is target-like despite the morphological error in the auxiliary verb. As a parallel, José's turn a bit later on in the same conversation closely resembles Sophie's contribution, with some lexical and syntactic differences, as seen in excerpt 4-53.

Excerpt 4-53: Conversation 6

63	S -	sí sí, sólo lo hacen para: *yeah yeah, they only do it to:*
64→	J -	uhum. por ejemplo has escuchado lo que ha pasado al español este que estaba en el correo de la muerte en Estados Unidos? *uhum. for example have you heard what happened to that Spaniard who was on death row in the United States?*

Like Sophie's topic introduction above, José's turn in line 64 also uses lo que ha pasado a 'what happened to' in addition to an introductory question to ascertain intersubjectivity, has escuchado 'have you heard about.'

Although Sophie's markers for topic initiation do develop over the course of the year, there is less improvement seen in the area of topic closing. She does use more assessments in this environment as the year goes on, but shows little increase in the use of discourse markers and shows no tendency towards repetition. Her relative lack of involvement in topic transition activity has the effect of making José responsible for the lion's share of the work. Howe (1991) indicates that topic transition is collaborated by the participants in interaction, especially in the case of topic closings. The participation of both (or all) interactants in topic closing implies, essentially, that both interactants agree to close the current topic and the floor is open for a new topic of conversation. Sophie's limited participation in topic closing is one of the few features of her interactional abilities that has the effect of making her seem to be a more passive participant in the interaction, allowing (or obligating) José to determine the closing points of topics or, as Kasper (2004) states, putting José in the position of "interaction manager."

4.5. SUMMARY

The interactional resources evaluated in this chapter entail some of the many components that together make up IC. This chapter has analyzed Sophie's competence with these resources, based on her use of them in conversation with José. In general, her skills developed over the course of the

year abroad, a progression that is not surprising given long-held assumptions about the development of oral proficiency by learners in the study abroad setting.

Speaker selection is a skill area in which relatively little change was observed over the course of the year abroad, primarily due to Sophie's evident advanced interactional skills from the beginning of her sojourn in Spain. Sophie was able to take the floor through self-selection from the very beginning; thus, little development was observed, although she did begin to use more markers, a development also related to topic initiation, as discussed above. Sophie's ability to hold the floor for lengthier turns grew, indicating potentially a burgeoning skill in self-selecting when she was the current speaker. Her ability to select José was strong from the beginning, but there was evidence of a widening range of types of moves that she used to select him.

The clearest case of development was in the area of being other-selected by José. At the beginning of her stay abroad, Sophie displayed some difficulties in answering questions or being other-selected by José, often needing repetition. Her skill level rose quickly in this area, and by the end of her stay abroad, this skill showed signs of problems only on rare occasion. In sum, with the exception of being other-selected, Sophie showed strong skills from the beginning in most elements of speaker selection, so relatively little development could be expected. This finding likely implies that, in the process of the acquisition of IC in conversation, the interactional resources related to speaker selection are acquired relatively early in the process. This contention is generally supported by the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (1999), which claim that deficiencies in speaker selection are not a salient feature of learners' speech once they have surpassed Intermediate-Mid level. Sophie's performance indicates that perhaps

some deficiencies continue on to Intermediate-High level, but that ultimately, of the interactional resources analyzed in this dissertation, speaker selection is developed relatively early. Table 4.4 summarizes Sophie's developments in the interactional resource of speaker selection.

Table 4.4 NNS Development in Speaker Selection

Interactional resource	Conversation 1: Start of Stay Abroad	Conversations 2-5: Developmental Process	Conversation 6: End of Stay Abroad
Self-selection when non-current speaker	Able to take floor, but uses few markers to do so, generally just acknowledgement tokens such as sí 'yes'.	Gradual incorporation of more appropriate markers to take floor.	Able to take floor with more markers used to transition between turns, including assessments.
Self-selection when current speaker	Average length of turn 9.2 words, range in turn length 1-27 words.	Not a straight progression of increase in length of turns and ranges.	Average length of turn 32.9 words, range in turn length 2-114 words – interpreted as evidence of higher skill level.
Other-selection	Needs repetition of questions frequently.	Needs repetition less frequently.	Needs no repetition.

While relatively little change is seen in Sophie's use of the interactional resources involved in speaker selection due to her already well-developed skills from the outset of her experience abroad, the development seen in her abilities in terms of alignment activity is more apparent. Sophie began the year with relatively poorly developed skills and showed clear improvement over the course of the year. Sophie's contributions to assessment activity were initially quite limited to vocal and kinesic agreement markers. Over the course of the year, her assessments became more complex, implying more active participation in alignment activity. This development in complexity occurred earlier in self-

assessment activity than in other-assessment activity. A likely explanation for this facet of Sophie's assessment behavior is that there is a degree of projecting needed to provide appropriate assessments on other's contributions, leading to earlier complex assessments on her own utterances. Goodwin and Goodwin (1992), in their account of why a hearer's overlapping assessment is often different than the speaker's assessment, underscore the relevance of the different degrees of access to the assessable item or topic each interactant has. The different assessments are not indicative of disagreement, but rather different access to the speaker's perspective. Thus, as Sophie's skill in assessing increases, she is able to assess her own contributions earlier given her full access to her own perspective. Assessing José's contributions involves a greater skill level due to the projection needed; consequently, this skill develops later.

While Sophie's ability to perform assessments begins weakly and grows substantially, her skill in performing collaborative contributions is already well developed from the beginning of the year; consequently, it shows little development. Collaborative completions, on the other hand, do not appear in Sophie's discourse until her second semester abroad. By the end of her stay abroad, she has shown substantial development in this area. Collaborative completions are, perhaps, some of the strongest signs of alignment that hearers can provide because they imply co-authorship of the speakers' utterance, rather than mere recipientship (Lerner 1996). Sophie's ability to contribute collaborative completions demonstrates substantial development in her ability to deploy alignment markers effectively. Table 4.5 summarizes Sophie's development in the resources associated with alignment activity.

Table 4.5 NNS Development in Alignment Activity

Interactional resource	Conversation 1: Start of Stay Abroad	Conversations 2-5: Developmental Process	Conversation 6: End of Stay Abroad
Assessments on other's contributions	Nods, laughs, one or more sí's 'yeah''s. One token of more complex assessment marred by ill timing.	Gradual incorporation of more complex structures, including sí, yo creo que sí 'yes, I think so' and a mí también 'me too.' Descriptive evaluations (adjectives) most apparent beginning conversation 4.	Wider repertoire with greater complexity than at beginning of stay abroad. Qué/es 'how/it's' followed by adjective, or other elaborate descriptions, complex agreement markers, etc.
Assessments on own contributions	Very few discernible self-assessments, perhaps due in part to relatively few contributions to the conversation.	Beginning with Conversation 2, good variety of assessments on own contributions more than on NS's. Includes affect markers, use of English, more complex structures.	Wide repertoire. Lacks some NS features including repetition and rephrasing.
Collaborative Completions	None	First appear in Conversation 4, grow progressively more accurate and better timed.	Very competent collaborative completions.
Collaborative Contributions	Apparent in terms of collaborating with list making and rephrasing.	Increasing presence in more contexts.	Greater skills in terms of length and complexity.

As discussed above, Sophie had relatively strong skills in speaker selection from the beginning of the year and consequently showed relatively little change in abilities. In alignment activity, however, she showed substantial progress over the course of the year, beginning with relatively poorly developed skills and ending with substantial abilities. Her abilities in topic management,

however, are poorly developed at the beginning of the year and show relatively little change over the course of the year abroad. Much of the responsibility for marking topic transitions remains in the hands of the NS, as does the task of seeking to generate topics based on Sophie's input. This observation does not mean that Sophie does not introduce topics. She does, and does so steadily through the course of the year. The interactional resource that is relatively underdeveloped, however, is the marking of these topic borders. There is evidence of development in this area, with a growing array of markers being deployed especially at topic initiation, but ultimately it cannot be claimed that Sophie shows evidence of having reached a highly developed skill level prior to her departure from Spain. Howe (1991) claims that topic endings are generally highly co-constructed; both participants provide topic ending moves that indicate their agreement that the topic can be closed. Sophie's scant participation in topic closing leads to a dynamic in which José, out of necessity, dominates topic management. The result, to some degree, is that Sophie displays somewhat passive behavior in topic closings. Table 4.6 summarizes Sophie's development in topic management.

Table 4.6 NNS Development in Topic Management

Interactional resource	Conversation 1: Start of Stay Abroad	Conversations 2-5: Developmental Process	Conversation 6: End of Stay Abroad
Topic Initial Elicitors	None	None	None
Topic transition markers	Limited repertoire: one word transition makers including sí 'yeah,' pero 'but,' and 'y.'	Repertoire expanding to multi-word transitions, primarily topic openings, not closings.	Has much wider repertoire than beginning of year with greater complexity of structures, but shows little use of discourse markers used by NS nor of multiple markers.

This chapter has approached IC as the effective use of interactional resources and it has traced the development of several of these resources over the course of the year. As such, it has focused primarily on the contributions of only the NNS, Sophie. Next, Chapter 5 views IC from the perspective of co-construction of communication and analyzes the roles that both the NS and the NNS play in the processes of co-construction and the evolution of these roles over the course of the year.

Chapter 5: Analysis of Co-construction

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter approached the concept of IC from the perspective that IC is based on the interactional resources that a speaker is able to use effectively and actively to communicate in conversation. The current chapter approaches IC from the point of view that interaction is co-constructed by participants. This chapter analyzes the roles that the NS and the NNS play in conversation, examining the asymmetrical nature of the interactions and the apparent distribution of rights and obligations between the interactants. Following Lave and Wenger's (1991) construct of legitimate peripheral participation, this analysis examines the learner's evolving role in participation, as she moves from peripheral towards full participation in interaction. Additionally, the interactions are studied through the context of novice/expert interaction, to determine how and when interactants appear to be orienting to these roles, how they co-create this dynamic, and how this dynamic evolves over the course of the year abroad.

5.2 Orientation to the Novice/Expert Paradigm.

This section addresses the interactants' orientation to the NS/NNS dynamic that is, according to Kurhila (2001), omnipresent in NS/NNS interaction. The omnipresence of this dynamic does not mean that it is always relevant to the interactants, but rather that it is a paradigm to which the interactants can orient at

any time. Practitioners of CA, such as Schegloff *et al*. (2002) caution that, although categorical labels such as NS or NNS may be of great interest to the researcher, the categories may not be relevant for the interactants. Unless there are some indications in the conversation that the interlocutors are orienting to these categories, it is not methodologically sound to attribute any behaviors to these labels. This section analyzes how and when the interactants do appear to be orienting to their status as NS and NNS. The asymmetry of knowledge that is present in NS/NNS interaction provides the NNS with a potential source to tap as needed or as desired. In addition, the NS may, as the more knowledgeable participant, be more aware of potential imbalances in knowledge and therefore orient to avoiding or equalizing them. This section points to moves and behaviors of the interactants that appear to index their status as linguistic experts and novices in the language they use.

5.2.1. Discussion of Language Learning

It is clear in the data that Sophie and José often orient to their respective roles as novice and expert speakers of Spanish. One way in which this orientation is made overt is by explicit discussion of the process and frustrations of language learning.

José and Sophie's discussions of language learning address the issues of learner goals and ideal dynamics that facilitate development. In addition, José makes clear his own position as a foreign language learner of English, lending an empathetic tone to his claims of understanding the challenges that Sophie faces. This explicit statement of understanding and empathy is made at the very beginning of their first conversation, as seen in excerpt 5.1.

Excerpt 5-1: Conversation 1

5	J -	... bueno, no pero, sobre todo ehh, sobre todo es que, ehhhh, estuve hablando con dos chicas, compañeras tuyas, *... well, no but, above all, uhh, above all it's that, uh, I was talking with two girls, friends of yours,*
6	S -	sí *yes*
7	J -	Susan y Megan, *Susan and Megan*
8	S -	uhum
9	J -	y sobre todo lo lo lo que pasa es que es que se quedan muy calladas, sabes? se quedan calladas por, pues, no sé, por a lo mejor les les da vergüenza, o que piensan que no hablan bien el español *and above all what what what happens is that is that they stay very silent, you know? they stay silent because, well, I don't know, because maybe it it embarrasses them or they think that they don't speak Spanish well*
10	S -	uhum
11	J -	o o o algo sabes, eh ya te digo, no te cortes, que= *or or or something, you know, so anyway, don't be shy, that*
12	S -	(laughs)
13	J -	=que si si dices algo que no esté bien dicho yo no me voy a reír de ti *that if if you say something that's not well spoken I'm not going to laugh at you*
14	S -	sí *yeah*
15	J -	sabes? *you know?*
16	S -	sí [entiendo] *yes [I understand]*
17	J -	[yo el] inglés hablo fatal el inglés *[me, En]glish, I speak English horribly*
18	S -	(laughs)
19	J -	sabes? y y y no bueno no me gusta que se= *you know? and and and I don't, well, I don't like=*
20	S -	sí *yes*
21	J -	=rían de mí por eso no lo hago *=people to laugh at me so I don't do it.*
22	S -	sí. practiqué mucho con mi familia *yes, I practiced a lot with my family*

23 J - uhum
24 S - porque la hija ..sabe inglés
because the daughter .. . knows English
25 J - [uhum]
26 S - [pero] la madre no sabe nada
[but] the mother doesn't know any
27 J - uhum
28 S - y ... necesito hablar en español
and . . . I need to speak Spanish
29 J - [uhum]
30 S - [pero] pero quiero hablar en español.
[but] but I want to speak Spanish.

José, having already engaged in data collection sessions with two other NNS participants in a related study, is well aware of many NNSs' tendency to remain silent in interaction, to cede the floor frequently to the NS, and to avoid taking the floor unbidden. José's urging of Sophie not to remain silent in the interaction and his promise that he will not laugh at her invite Sophie to participate as actively as possible, with no shame for any linguistic deficiencies she may have. With this explicit invitation, José legitimizes Sophie's participation in the interaction. In addition, he attempts to equalize to some extent the imbalance that exists between them by claiming that he speaks English horribly, emphasizing the negative adjective <u>fatal</u> 'horribly' in such a way as to imply that his English is much worse than her Spanish. His contributions make clear to Sophie his understanding of the emotional difficulties she is facing as a learner in the study abroad setting when she is compelled to speak in a language in which she does not have full competence.

Sophie, in turn, makes clear the obligation that she has to speak Spanish and the accompanying desire she has do to so, in lines 28 and 30. Living with a host family with one member who does not speak English requires that she

speak Spanish, but she is quick to mention that speaking Spanish is one of her goals. This goal is further elaborated later on in the same conversation, as seen in excerpt 5.2.

Excerpt 5-2: Conversation 1

356	S -	pero quiero quiero uh poder hablar, *but I want I want uh to be able to speak,*
357	J -	uhum
358	S -	puede decir? *can you say that?*
359	J -	sí *yes*
360	S -	quiero poder hablar uh sin pensando *I want to be able to speak uh without to think*
361	J -	(laughs)
362	S -	porque muchas personas me dijeron que hablo español bien *because lots of people told me that I speak Spanish well*
363	J -	uhum
364	S -	pero: pens- piens- pienso *but: I thin, thin, think*
365	J -	uhum
366	S -	desmasiado. *too much.*
367	J -	sí, [eh:] *yes, [uh:]*
368	S -	[y] hablo despacio y cómo se dice *[and] I speak slowly and how do you say*
369	J -	y parándote, quiere decir. pero eso es algo completamente normal. ... *and stopping, you mean. but that's something that's completely normal. ...*

In excerpt 5-2, Sophie states that her goal is to speak Spanish without thinking and pausing, indicating recognition of her status as a novice speaker who has not yet reached competence in the language. She reports that others have also told her that she thinks too much when she speaks, causing her to speak slowly, thus illustrating that her feelings of incompetence are based on

objective comment, not just mere self-criticism. José counters her assertion with the statement that this behavior is normal and that being able to think in another language is one of the biggest challenges of language learning.

Explicit discussion of language makes up nearly one third of José and Sophie's first conversation. In subsequent interactions, they do occasionally talk about language learning directly, but they do not discuss it to nearly the same extent as in Conversation 1. The topic of conversation is an interesting one to which they both can contribute, having both experienced the difficulties of learning a foreign language, and clearly it constitutes a shared type of experience for them. In addition, their discussion of language learning indexes the various membership categories that are relevant to each. In Sophie's case, both her and José's comments clearly index her as a novice whose goal is to reach or at least move towards expert status in conversation, while José's moves index his role as the expert. José's comments specifically give Sophie license to be incompetent without fear, because he offers to provide a supportive, non-judgmental venue in which to try out her burgeoning skills. She is invited to engage in the conversation to the degree that she is able.

The type of engagement that José essentially proposes for Sophie and that Sophie professes to need fits the description of Lave and Wenger's (1991) legitimate peripheral participation. Sophie is invited to participate in expert conversation but with limited responsibility and with clear indications that she will be offered support. In their interaction, Sophie, as the NNS, has the opportunity to display her developing communicative skills under the supervision of José, the NS. The goal of the activity is officially oriented to communication, but they also recognize a meta-activity of providing a less competent speaker the opportunity

to participate in communicative practices alongside an expert who can provide repair, clarification, and other forms of support as needed.

Whether this explicit framing of the novice/expert nature of the interaction is a product of the experimental nature of the data collection or merely a representation of typical interaction in the study abroad setting cannot be determined by the data collected in this study. Personal experience and anecdotal evidence, however, support the notion that in cities with continuous flows of international students coming to study the local language, many of the students and many of the locals, particularly those such as host families who have steady and prolonged contact with the learners, are keenly oriented to the language learning dynamic, in addition to the general goals of conversation. Among learners, language learning is an often discussed topic of conversation, a feature that is not surprising given its status as the ostensible goal of a study abroad program in a foreign language setting. Through these discussions, learners attempt to make sense of their experience, to work through their difficulties, and to provide support to each other, through commiseration and sharing of knowledge. Presumably the topic of language learning is also often initiated in NS/NNS interaction by either of the interlocutors.

The orientation of learners and locals to the novice/expert paradigm may play itself out in explicit discussion of language learning, as seen with José and Sophie. Additionally, there are moves in NS/NNS interaction that also index this orientation less directly. The type of move that provides the clearest evidence of this orientation is correction, a subset of repair.

5.2.2 Repair

Repair, as was discussed in section 2.2.3.2, is the means by which interactants resolve problems of speaking, hearing, and understanding (Schegloff *et al*. 1977). Schegloff *et al*. found that among adult NSs of English, there is a preference for self-initiated, self-completed repair over other-initiated, other-completed repair. Various researchers (Kurhila 2001; Wilkinson 2002; Norrick 1991) investigated interaction between speakers of unequal competence in some regard to see if the same pattern was true in their interactions. Kurhila (2001) found that there was a general constraint on other correction in NS/NNS interaction: many NNS errors were not attended to in the interaction. Two main contexts in which NS-initiated other-repair was apparently less constrained, however, included when the original turn was marked as hesitant by the NNS, indirectly initiating the repair, and when the repair could be easily embedded into a repetition slot where it was not directly addressed by the participants. Wilkinson (2002) found less constraint than Kurhila. In her study set in France, NSs performed other-correction directly with no NNS uncertainty expressed. The repairs often included corrections of form not based on problems that would cause comprehension difficulties. Their research was discussed in detail in section 2.2.3.2.

These studies represent some of the ways in which repair in NS/NNS interaction has been approached through a CA framework. Within the Interactionist Hypothesis, repair is essentially negotiation, an element of interaction that drives the acquisition process (Varonis and Gass 1985). Repair patterns seen in Sophie and José's interactions, however, are analyzed here as evidence of their apparent orientation to the novice/expert paradigm (Kasper

2004). In Sophie and José's interactions, the patterns of correction that appear are varied, with some similarities to some of the repair patterns found in Kurhila's (2001) and Wilkinson's (2002) studies.

5.2.2.1 NS-initiated Other Repair

As in Kurhila's (2001) and Hosoda's (2006) research, NS José does not correct all errors that NNS Sophie commits. Errors on different levels, including lexical, grammatical, and pronunciation errors are at times ignored by José, especially if they do not negatively impact comprehension. The same pattern is true in interactions among NSs. Schegloff *et al*. (1977) found that generally errors in grammar, pronunciation, and lexicon are not attended to by the interactants, who instead follow the principle of "letting-it-pass" (Garfinkel 1967). In the following three excerpts, Sophie makes errors in gender agreement (excerpt 5-3), mood choice (excerpt 5-4), and lexicon (excerpt 5-5). In all three cases, the errors are not addressed by the native speaker and the conversation continues.

Excerpt 5-3: Conversation 1

63	S -	y echo de menos mucho el otoño. *and I miss autumn a lot*
64	J -	(laughs)
65→	S -	porque en Massachussets el otoño es muy *bonita. *because in Massachusetts autumn (masc.) is very *pretty (fem., should be masc.).*
66	J -	uhum
67	S -	porque los árboles, las hojas *because the trees, the leaves*
68	J -	uhum

Excerpt 5-4: Conversation 4

326→	S -	pero es una lástima que una persona *puede comprar un perro o un gato *but it's a shame that a person *can (indicative, needs subjunctive) buy a dog or a cat*
327	J -	uhum
328	S -	y si quiere puede tortur- torturarle *and if they want to they can tortur- torture to it*
329	J -	torturarlo *torture it*

Excerpt 5-5: Conversation 5

144	S -	y luego los esclavos *and then the slaves*
145	J -	uhuh
146→	S -	*revoltaron y vinieron luego a los Estados Unidos **revolted (tense is correct for *revoltar - a non-existent word in Spanish based on English lexicon.) and came then to the United States*
147	J -	qué historia. *what a story.*

In other instances, however, these same types of errors are repaired by José.

Excerpt 5-6: Conversation 1

324→	S -	sí, en los Estados Unidos. Es uh *la verano pasado *yes, in the United States. It's uh *the (fem.) past (masc.) summer (masc.)*
325→	J -	el [verano] *the (masc.) summer (masc.)*
326	S -	[el] verano pasado . . . estaba . el más . cómo se dice uh . llo *[the (masc.)] summer (masc.) past (masc.) . . . was . the most . how do you say uh . rai*
327	J -	lluvioso *rainy*

Excerpt 5-7: Conversation 1

443	S -	sí, quiero que la gente *yes, I want that the people*
444	J -	claro *of course*
445→	S -	*corregirme y **to correct (needs subjunctive, uses infinitive) me and*
446→	J -	me corrija (laughs) *correct me (laughs)*
447	S -	me corrija. y la hija *correct me. and the daughter*

Excerpt 5-8: Conversation 4

273	J -	es un perro muy fuerte *it's a very strong dog*
274	S -	sí, algunas personas les en- entrenan? *yes, some people tra- train them?*
275	J -	uh[um]
276	S -	[les] entre[nan] *they train them*
277	J -	[sí] *yes*
278→	S -	a ser *matadora *matadores y: *to be *matador *matadors and:*
279→	J -	más que matadores se dice asesinos. *more than matadors one says killers*
280	S -	ah, asesinos *ah, killers*

In excerpts 5-6 through 5-8, Sophie again makes errors in gender agreement (excerpt 5-6), mood choice (excerpt 5-7), and lexicon (excerpt 5-8). In these instances, the errors are repaired by José in the very direct, pedagogical manner found in Wilkinson's (2002) study. In these sequences, José claims his

status as authority in the language, invoking Sophie's status as novice, and moving the orientation of the interaction towards the expert/novice paradigm.

One question that the phenomenon of other-initiated, other-completed repair raises is whether there are certain circumstances under which José is more likely to initiate repair; i.e., when he is more likely to orient himself to the novice/expert paradigm. The amount of data available for analysis is too limited to provide a clear picture of the environments that most lend themselves to other repair. In fact, there are no transparent patterns of when repair is initiated and when it is not. There are some trends, however, that are apparent.

One tendency noted in the data is the existence of clusters of repair, often initially marked by hesitation markers in Sophie's turn that lead to repair by José. Errors made in turns immediately following this initial repair sequence appear to be slightly more likely to be directly other-repaired by José. This first initiation of repair processes appears to activate the orientation to the NS/NNS paradigm.

Excerpt 5-9: Conversation 2

235	S -	mis manos siempre tienen frío *my hands are always cold*
236	J -	uhum
237	S -	y mis piernas uh duer- *duermen? *and my legs uh slee- *sleep?*
238→	J -	se duermen *fall asleep*
239	S -	se duermen. pero yo cruzco ella mucho también *fall asleep. but I cross she a lot too*
240	J -	oh, eso también a lo mejor haciendo un poco de ejercicio. *oh, this also maybe by exercising a little*
241	S -	pero ando todo el tiempo. es la única manera de *transportación para mí. *but I walk all the time. it's the only means of *transport for me.*
242→	J -	sí, de transporte, [por qué?] *yes, of transportation, [why?]*

In excerpt 5-9, Sophie is having difficulties with the verb dormir in line 237 and José responds to her uncertainty framing with a repair in 238 in a pattern similar to that seen in Kurhila's (2001) study, discussed above in section 5.2.2. José's repair in line 242, however, on Sophie's lexical error, is unsolicited. Sophie did not mark the utterance as uncertain, nor was José speaking in an unmarked repetition slot; consequently, this second repair sequence does not fit into the categories found in Kurhila's study. Instead, it again seems to follow the pattern observed in Wilkinson (2002) of direct, unmitigated other-correction by the NS in NS/NNS interaction. Given the pattern mentioned above in which repair seems to occur in clusters, often initiated in the beginning by Sophie, it can be argued that the learner's original initiation of repair moves the interaction closer to the novice/expert paradigm, temporarily raising the level of attention to linguistic form versus main focus on meaning. This pattern is made even more salient in excerpt 5-10.

Excerpt 5-10: Conversation 2

132	S -	uh, al principio, um, voy a quedarme aquí en Granada, pero mi madre (both laugh) quiere que yo vuelva, y quiero uh sor- sorpren- prender a? *uh, at first, um, I am going to stay here in Granada, but my mother (both laugh) wants me to return and I want uh to sur- surpri- surprise?*
133→	J -	sorprender. *surprise*.
134	S -	mis amigos *my friends*
135	J -	uhuh
136	S -	mi mejor amiga. que voy a sentarme en su cocina. cuando ella vuelva *a la escuela, y ah! *my best friend. I'm going to sit in her kitchen. when she*

*returns *to school, and ah!*

137→ J - vuelva de la escuela
returns from school

138 S - de la [escuela]
from school

139 J - [de la] escuela
from school

140 S - sí, echo de menos a ella mucho porque ella siempre *estaban juntos
*yes, I miss her a lot because she *were (3rd person plural) always together*

141 J - uhum

142 S - y cada día yo
and everyday I

143→ J - uh, nosotros
uh, we

144 S - nosotros
we

145→ J - siempre estábamos juntas, eso es
we were always together, that's it

146 S - sí, nosotras. oh, qué- qué dije? ellas?
yeah, we. oh, what- what did I say? they?

147 J - ellas siempre estaban juntas. has puesto la tercera persona. bueno, ya, esos [son]
they were always together. you put the third person. but anyway, those [are]

148 S - [he] tomado muchas clases de español. hace 10 años?
[I've] taken lots of Spanish classes. for 10 years?

149 J - ahah

150 S - casi diez años que estudio español y todavía me equivoco um va muy simple
almost ten years I've been studying Spanish and still I make mistakes um goes very easy

151→ J - con: con cosas muy simples
with: with very simple things

152 S - sí
yes

153 J - a mí me pasa igual con el inglés...
the same thing happens to me in English...

In excerpt 5-10, the original initiation of repair again stems from Sophie's trouble with a verb form; this time it was sorprender 'to surprise' in line 132. José

responds to her uncertainty framing with a repair, as in Kurhila's (2001) study. Additionally, in this case the repair constitutes a minimal interruption in the flow of the conversation. José simply provides the correct form of the word and the conversation continues. As Kurhila found, the NSs in NS/NNS interaction often attempt to minimize the salience of the repair, while the NNSs may or may not incorporate the repair into their following utterances. Again, though, this learner-initiated repair sequence is then followed by unsolicited repair in line 137 on Sophie's incorrect preposition choice in the previous turn. This direct, unmitigated other-correction by José is followed by another in line 143. This correction, however, becomes not only a side sequence, but actually completely changes the topic of conversation. It appears that the heightened level of attention to linguistic form pushes the orientation of the interaction squarely into the novice/expert paradigm, where the topic of conversation turns to the difficulties of language learning, a topic that continues for the following 14 turns.

Excerpt 5-10 illustrates well the contention that form-focused repair in NS/NNS interaction raises the omnipresent novice/expert paradigm to the surface level. Repair, and especially clusters of unsolicited repair, can become so salient that they and their root cause essentially become the topic of conversation rather than just a brief side sequence.

Other clusters of repair may occur not only as an apparent result of Sophie's uncertainty framing, but also based on the topic of conversation, as seen in excerpt 5-11, which is a continuation of excerpt 5-2. Here the topic of conversation is precisely Sophie's desire to be corrected.

Excerpt 5-11: Conversation 1

443	S -	sí, quiero que la gente
		yes, I want that the people
444	J -	claro
		of course
445→	S -	*corregirme y
		**to correct (needs subjunctive, uses infinitive) me and*
446→	J -	me corrija (laughs)
		correct me
447	S -	me corrija. Y la hija
		correct me. And the daughter
448	J -	uhum
449	S -	*que yo vivo con siempre
		**that I live with always*
450→	J -	[con la que la que yo vivo]
		[*with whom whom I live]*
451	S -	[me dice] sí, sí, siempre uh me dice cuando
		[*tells me] yes, yes, always uh tells me when*
452→	J -	uhum . . me equivoco
		uhum . . I make a mistake
453	S -	sí, cómo se dice?
		yes, how do you say it?
454	J -	me equivo[co]
		I make a mista[ke]
455	S -	[me] equivoco
		[I] make a mistake
456	J -	cuando cuando fallo
		when when I'm wrong
457	S -	sí
		yes
458	J -	cuando: hay muchas palabras
		when: there are a lot of words
459	S -	sí, necesito escribir en un cuaderno . los mistakes
		yes, I need to write in a notebook . the <u>mistakes</u>
460→	J -	(laughs) las faltas
		the mistakes
461	S -	las [faltas]
		the [mistakes]
462	J -	[o los e]rrores
		[*or the err]ors*

Judging by their laughter and facial expressions, both speakers find elements of this repair-ridden interaction to be comical, presumably stemming from the need to correct Sophie's statement that she wants to be corrected and her other errors that occur precisely as she is talking about errors. Some of José's repairs are not acknowledged, such as line 450, while others are repeated, either directly (lines 447 and 461) or after requested repetition (line 455). In this excerpt, both the topic of conversation and the repair activity underscore the novice/expert orientation that the speakers display in the interaction. In addition, José's repair in line 452 is an example of a specific type of repair move that he often makes, a preemptive repair that constitutes a completion.

Completions are another of the common forms of other repair in the interactions between Sophie and José. As discussed in Chapter 4, completions also can be understood as a means of showing alignment (Nofsinger 1991). This dual categorization is not contradictory, however. As discussed above, repair is a means by which speakers maintain intersubjectivity via resolving problems of speaking, hearing, or understanding (Schegloff *et al.* 1977). Likewise, alignment is a way of demonstrating intersubjectivity by showing that the hearer is fully following the speaker. As such, a completion, especially by a NS when interacting with a NNS, can cover both of these roles, as a way of both maintaining and demonstrating intersubjectivity.

Some completion moves, especially those focused more on humorous or evaluative statements, appear to correspond much more to alignment than to repair, as in the excerpts 5-12 through 5-14.

Excerpt 5-12: Conversation 4

82	S -	yo, como un una tonta estaba pensando que ilustración será *me, like a fool I was thinking that the Enlightenment (illustration) will be*
83→	J -	dibujos *drawings*
84	S -	sobre, sí, dibujos, and I was like oh, pero estudiamos fábulas y *about, yes, drawings, and I was like oh, but we study fables and*

Excerpt 5-13: Conversation 5

212	S -	pero, el año ha pasado *yes, but the year has passed*
213→	J -	muy rápido *very fast*
214	S -	sí, muy rápido. *yes, very fast*

Excerpt 5-14: Conversation 5

238	S -	pero sí, estaba pensando de mis amigos, *but yeah, I was thinking about my friends*
239	J -	ahah
240	S -	allá en los Estados Unidos *there in the United States*
241	J -	ahah
242	S -	y: me gusta muchísimo Granada, pero tus tus amigos antiguos *and: I like Granada a lot, but your your old friends*
243→	J -	claro, los echas de menos *of course, you miss them*
244	S -	sí *yes*

In excerpts 5-12 through 5-14, the interlocutors' orientation to the NS/NNS dynamic is not clear; rather the completion moves appear to index a high degree of shared understanding in which José is able to finish Sophie's thoughts for her.

In other cases, however, José's completions appear to play the role of providing Sophie with lexical items or demonstrating a more complex grammatical structure, thus illustrating a latent orientation to the novice/expert dynamic.

Excerpt 5-15: Conversation 3

88	S -	y yo vi una mujer con *and I saw a woman with*
89→	J -	con velo *with a veil*
90	S -	sí, con todo el negro, y parecía como *un esclavo. [una esclava] *yes, with all black, and she looked like *a slave (masc.). [a slave] (fem.)*
91	J -	[una esclava] *[a slave] (fem.)*
92	S -	sí, y: él no le gusta Tánger porque es muy, no sé, no hay, hay una ciudad pero es un poca una poca fea *yes, and: he doesn't like Tangiers because it's very, I don't know, there isn't, there is a city but it's a little a little ugly*
93	J -	uhum
94	S -	y no sé. pero yo no tenía miedo porque estaba *and I don't know. but I wasn't afraid because I was*
95→	J -	estabas acompañada. ... *you were accompanied*. ...

Excerpt 5-16: Conversation 4

93	J -	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. lo habéis estudiado ya? *Gustavo Adolfo Becquer. have you studied him already?*
94	S -	no, pero el otro día la profesora *no, but the other day the professor*
95→	J -	lo nombró *mentioned him*
96	S -	sí *yes*
97→	J -	lo mencionó.... *mentioned him*

José also occasionally performs completions after hesitation on Sophie's part, illustrating that he is closely attending to Sophie's discourse and is ready to provide supportive moves as needed, again indicating an orientation to his status as expert and Sophie's status as novice.

Excerpt 5-17: Conversation 5

10	S -	es un poco difícil y pero, para mí es facilísimo, pero cuando: (.) *it's a little difficult and but, for me it's really easy, but when: (.)*
11→	J -	cambiamos= *we switch=*
12	S -	=sí cambiamos, tú, ah muy bien, español, y yo, oh: no:, español (said as if she's quoting what both say in reaction to the switch) *=yeah we switch, you, oh great, Spanish and me, <u>oh: no</u>:, Spanish.*

Excerpt 5-18: Conversation 6

111	S -	sí, y yo no entiendo por qué no es, por qué es legal tener un arma en su casa. sí, dice en la constitución que: la persona tiene el derecho para llevar armas, pero la constitu- la constitución fue escrito: *yes, and I don't understand why it's not, why it's legal to have a gun in the house. yes, it says in the constitution that the person has the right to bear arms, but the constitu- the constitution was written:*
112→	J -	hace mucho *long ago*
113	S -	hace mucho tiempo cuando se necesitaba armas para matar a los animales . . . *a long time ago when you needed guns to kill animals...*

Although José's completions are clearly intended as a means to help Sophie express her ideas and to show his alignment with her contributions, there are many instances in which his completions do not reflect Sophie's intended

meaning. These cases illustrate the guessing involved in projecting another interactant's intention (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992), guessing that may possibly be more likely to be ventured in NS/NNS interaction as the NS seeks to provide assistance.

Excerpt 5-19: Conversation 4

258	S -	y es- tiene músculos y su: (gestures to mouth) *and it is- it has muscles and its: (gesture to mouth)*
259→	J -	la baba *drool*
260	S -	y sus dientes *and its teeth*
261	J -	claro, dientes *of course, teeth*

Excerpt 5-20: Conversation 6

75	S -	sí, y, sólo, es la única cosa que que ha pasado allí pero la policía, hay un montón de policía y ellos sólo molestan a los chicos de beber por ejemplo los chicos que no tienen 21 años y beben los los *yes, and, only, it's the only thing that has happened there but the police, there are tons of police and they only bother the kids about drinking for example the kids that aren't 21 years old and drink (the the / them them)*
76→	J -	bebidas alcohólicas *alcoholic drinks*
77	S -	detienen, sí, o de marihuana o drogas o algo así. ... *they arrest, yes, or marijuana or drugs or something like that...*

In excerpt 5-19, Sophie is talking about a friend's pit bull, describing how powerful looking it is. José's completion in line 259 is relevant based on the general topic of conversation and his assumptions about what lexical items would be likely to cause difficulty for Sophie. In 5-20, José attempts a completion that is logical based on the preceding discourse, but that again does not reflect

Sophie's intended meaning. This type of incorrect completion is not unheard of in interaction that is not novice/expert, but it may be more common in novice/expert interaction where the expert may show a greater proclivity to provide support.

One final pattern noted in the use of unsolicited other repair is that José shows a strong tendency to repair Sophie's utterance if what she said makes her contributions confusing or difficult to understand. For the most part, although Sophie certainly does not speak Spanish with perfect accuracy, her errors do not interfere with comprehension. In some instances, however, she does make mistakes that obscure her meaning, as seen in excerpts 5-21 and 5-22, from Conversation 2.

Excerpt 5-21: Conversation 2

23	S -	ah sí. estaba enferma por: casi dos semanas. *oh yeah. I was sick for: almost two weeks.*
24	J -	dos semanas? *two weeks?*
25	S -	sí, y estabas resfriada también *yes, and you were congested too.*
26→	J -	estuve *I was*
27	S -	estuve *I was*

Excerpt 5-22: Conversation 2

134	S -	sí, voy a volver a los Estados Unidos por Navidad. *yeah, I'm going to return to the United States for Christmas.*
135	J -	uhum
136	S -	uh, al principio, um, voy a quedarme aquí en Granada, pero mi madre (both laugh) quiere que yo vuelva, y quiero uh, sor- sorpren- prender a? *uh, at first, um, I'm going to stay here in Granada, but my mother (both laugh) wants me to return, and I want uh to sur- surpri- prise.*
136	J -	sorprender

surprise

138 S - mis amigos
my friends

139 J - uhuh

140 S - mi mejor amiga. que voy a sentarme en su cocina. cuando ella um vuelva *a la escuela, y ah!
*my best friend. I'm going to sit in her kitchen. when she um returns *to school, and ah!*

141→ J - vuelva de la escuela.
returns from school.

142 S - de [la escuela]
from [school]

143 J - [de la escuela]
[from school]

144 S - sí, echo de menos a ella mucho porque ella siempre *estaban juntos
yeah, I miss to her a lot because she always *were (third person plural) always together

145 J - uhum

146 S - y cada día yo
and every day I

147→ J - uh, nosotros
uh, we

148 S - nosotros
we

149 J - siempre estábamos juntas, eso es.
were always together, that's it.

150 S - sí, nosotras. oh, qué, qué dije? ellas?
yeah, we. oh, what, what did I say? they?

In excerpts 5-21 and 5-22, José corrects Sophie's utterances, motivated perhaps by the way in which her errors confound the apparent intended meaning. In two of the three errors that apparently fall into the category of causing confusion, Sophie uses the wrong verb form (excerpt 5-21, line 25, and excerpt 5-22, line 144). In the third instance, line 140 of excerpt 5-22, Sophie chooses the incorrect preposition, expressing the opposite of her intended meaning. Judging by José's corrections, it is clear that in all these instances, he was able

to decipher Sophie's intended meaning. Additionally, these types of confusing errors appear to happen only early in the year, being limited to 6 instances in Conversation 2.

This section has examined unsolicited other-correction performed by the NS José. José does not correct all of Sophie's errors but there do appear to be some patterns of correction, including the tendency for repair to occur in the following contexts: (1) in instances where the error is confusing; (2) at times when Sophie is displaying hesitation markers; (3) as a type of move that works as a preemptive correction, as in a completion; and (4) in clusters of repairs. These moves indicate an orientation towards the novice/expert dynamic, particularly by underscoring the NS's role as expert.

Another grouping of moves that index the novice/expert orientation are Sophie's requests for repair or correction, which are moves that make salient her novice status.

5.2.2.2 Solicitation of Repair by NNS

Sophie shows her orientation to the novice/expert paradigm through her solicitation of help from José, and her proclivity to indicate her lack of confidence in the correctness of her utterances. In essence, Sophie self-initiates repair with the expectation that her expert interlocutor will provide the requested repair. Her repair initiations are performed in a number of manners, ranging from subtle hesitations and facial expressions to very explicit requests for unknown lexical items or providing two options and asking which is correct. These moves show Sophie's orientation towards viewing José as a resource on which she can rely to build her contributions to the interaction.

The clearest repair solicitations that Sophie makes are direct requests in which she explicitly asks José how to express something. These direct requests are generally, but not exclusively, focused on lexical deficiencies.

Excerpt 5-23: Conversation 1

328	S -	el] verano pasado . . . estaba . el más . cómo se dice uh . llo *last] summer . . . was . the most . how do you say uh . rai.*
329	J -	lluvioso *rainy*
330	S -	sí, lluvioso [y *yeah, rainy [and*

Excerpt 5-24: Conversation 4

20	S -	uhum. y su madre prepara paella en un plato, no sé como se dice (makes large circle with arms) *uhum. and his mother prepares paella in a dish, I don't know how you say (makes large circle with arms).*
21	J -	es es, una: una paellera (laughs) *it's it's, a: a paella pan (laughs)*
22	S -	(laughs) sí, gigante *(laughs) yeah, gigantic*

Sophie's direct requests are often accompanied by other devices that serve to guide José to the word or idea that she wishes to express. Gesture is one of the tools she uses, as in excerpt 5-24 above, in which her request for the word for a paella pan is accompanied by a gesture in which she forms a large circle with her arms. Another instance in which a gesture serves as the clue for José in a word search request is excerpt 5-25, from Conversation 1.

Excerpt 5-25: Conversation 1

491	S -	sí con . . cómo se dice? (makes circles around eyes with hands)

yes, with . . how do you say? (makes circles around eyes with hands)

492 J - eh gafas
uh glasses

These examples illustrate Sophie's orientation to José as expert, as a resource available for helping her express herself. She is able to provide the necessary details to José through means other than linguistic ones. Another similar strategy she employs when faced with a lexical deficit is to appeal for José's help through the use of English.

Excerpt 5-26: Conversation 1

461 S - sí, necesito escribir en un cuaderno los mistakes (laughs)
yes, I need to write in a notebook the <u>mistakes</u> (laughs)

462 J - (laughs) las faltas
(laughs) the mistakes

Excerpt 5-27: Conversation 2

327 S - aquí, um, no puedo, puedo invitar mis amigos a mi casa, pero no no podemos pasar mucho tiempo, no sé cómo se dice en español hang out. sabes?
here, um, I can't, I can invite my friends to my house, but we can't can't spend a lot of time, I don't know how to say in Spanish <u>hang out</u>, do you know?

328 J - eh, colgarse? no
eh, to hang oneself? no

329 S - sí, porque vivo con una mujer y su hija y me gustan mucho ellas
yeah, because I live with a woman and her daughter and I like them a lot.

José's repairs may be completely on target, as in excerpt 5-26 when he is able to quickly provide Sophie with the word she is lacking. In excerpt 5-27,

however, the word that José provides to fulfill Sophie's word search is, in fact, not at all the word she is seeking. Nevertheless, it appears that the mere act of providing a lexical item, albeit an incorrect one, removes the obstacle that Sophie has encountered and allows the conversation to continue. This exchange points to one of the facets of the expert role in interaction with novices, which is the role of facilitator. Sophie's plea for assistance in her search for the appropriate means by which to express herself is met by José's clear willingness to come to her aid. Most often when she initiates a repair sequence, José's repair is accurate and corresponds closely to her intended meaning. In this exchange, however, José's move is more symbolic. The word he provides is a rather literal translation of the idiomatic expression she is trying to express and, although he acknowledges that it is not a correct repair, they both treat the repair as being successful, so they continue the interaction. The ensuing conversation makes clear that they were able to maintain intersubjectivity and that the meaning was understood.

In other instances, however, the repair sequence does not result in a successful conveyance of meaning, but it still functions to allow the conversation to continue, as in excerpt 5-28.

Excerpt 5-28: Conversation 2

299	S -	y mi mi madre y mi hermano y un amiga de mi hermano y yo van a, well, iban a visitarme *and my my mother and my brother and a friend of my brothers and me are going to, well, were going to visit me.*
300	J -	uhum
301	S -	durante Navidad *during Christmas*
302	J -	uhum

303 S - porque al principio no voy a volver a los Estados Unidos.
because at first I'm not going to return to the United States.
304 J - no ibas, no iba a
you weren't going, I wasn't going to
305 S - no iba a volver, sí. Y mi hermano está un poco, no triste, no cómo se dice?
I wasn't going to return, yeah. And my brother is a little, not sad, not how do you say?
306 J - qué?
what?
307→ S - <u>disappointed</u>
308 J - dis- eh:, estaba en en desacuerdo,
dis- eh:, he was opposed,
309 S - sí
yeah
310 J - no quería, no le apetecía
he didn't want to, he didn't feel like it
311 S - porque, pero um le dije que la: el sentido de la ciudad y la Alhambra y todo
because, but um I told him that the the feel of the city and the Alhambra and everything
312 J - uhum
313 S - sería mejor en la primavera y el verano porque ellos van a visitarme en la primavera.
would be better in the spring and the summer because they are going to visit me in the spring.

In excerpt 5-28, José never really succeeds in coming up with an accurate translation of 'disappointed', but the brief orientation to his role as expert allows him to remove quickly the minor obstacle that had been placed before them. His repair is a symbolic move that acknowledges Sophie's request for help and their respective statuses as expert and novice, but that does not actually provide the word she sought. This type of repair, successful in facilitating the conversation but unsuccessful in terms of precision, is relatively rare in the corpus. Their scarcity notwithstanding, facilitative but imprecise repair moves underscore the

tolerance of ambiguity that is often present in any interaction, but that may be more prevalent in novice/expert interaction.

The novice-initiated repair sequences examined thus far have focused on lexical deficiencies. One of the characteristics that strongly indexes Sophie and José's conversations as novice/expert interaction, however, is the prevalence of form-focused repairs. Sophie uses a variety of means to elicit expert guidance in choosing the appropriate form, as excerpts 5-29 through 5-34 elucidate.

Excerpt 5-29: Conversation 1

58	S -	… pero me gusta mucho uh (..) los: (..) *tiempos? *… but I like uh (..) the: (..) *weathers a lot?*
59	J -	el [el tiempo.] *the [the weather]*
60	S -	[otoño] y: *autumn and:*
61	J -	estos son las estaciones *these are the seasons*

Excerpt 5-30: Conversation 3

140	S -	pues: uh, tenemos un tiempo largo por: por o para? *well; uh, we have a long time for: 'por' or 'para'? (both 'por and 'para' mean 'for' in Spanish, and are used in different contexts)*
141	J -	por *for*
142	S -	por la Navidad, pero, por el día de dar gracias *for Christmas, but, for Thanksgiving day*

Excerpt 5-31: Conversation 3

176	S -	sí, en el verano yo trabajaba, trabajé? *yeah, in the summer I was working, I worked?*
177	J -	trabajaba o trabajé, suenan bien los dos. *was working or worked, they both sound good.*

Excerpt 5-32: Conversation 3

246 S - no odio esta clase. me gusta me gusta, lo me gusta?
I don't hate this class. I like it, I like it, I it like?
247 J - me gusta
I like it
248 S - me gusta más que pensaba
I like it more than I thought I would

Excerpt 5-33: Conversation 4

347 S - y un hombre pone gatitos dentro de una botella,
and a man puts kittens inside a bottle?
348 J - uhum
349 S - para modificar y cambiar su talla, para que no *crece, no *crezan
*to modify and change their size, so that they don't *grows, don't *grow*
350 J - no crezcan
don't grow
351 S - sí, no crezcan, sí. . . .
yeah, don't grow, yeah

Excerpt 5-34: Conversation 5

14 S - sí:, y ahora puedes expres- [expre]sarte como quieras
yeah: and now you an express- [express] yourself as you like
15 J - [expresar] uhum
[express] uhum
16 S - como quieras o como quieres?
as you like (subjunctive) or as you like (indicative)?
17 J - si, como quieres,
yeah, as you like (indicative)
18 S - como quieres
as you like (indicative)
19 J - o como quieras también es correcto.
or as you like (subjunctive) is also correct.

In excerpts 5-29 to 5-34, Sophie elicits José's assistance through a variety of means, ranging from very explicit instances in which she asks which of two options is right, to more subtle initiations in which her hesitancy, self-repair, or intonation gives clues to her difficulties.

In excerpts 5-30 and 5-34, Sophie presents options to José, directly asking him which of two forms is correct. In so doing, Sophie indicates that she is testing her knowledge of the language and seeking guidance from her expert interlocutor. Similarly in the other excerpts, she engages in self-correction that is often coupled with the rising intonation of "try-marking," or instances where a speaker uses question intonation on a statement to indicate uncertainty on form (Kasper 2004). These markers of uncertainty about form underscore her novice status and compel, or at least encourage, José to provide expert assistance. In so doing, Sophie activates the omnipresent novice/expert dynamic in the interaction, temporarily changing the focus from meaning to form.

This section has discussed the ways in which Sophie and José show their orientation towards their respective statuses as NNS and NS. At times, this orientation is the actual topic of conversation, as when Sophie and José discuss the topic of language learning. In addition, they contribute other moves, such as NNS- and NS-initiated repairs, that indicate both speakers' willingness and tendency to evoke their roles as novice and expert when they seem to be needed. Sophie uses José's knowledge of the language as a resource to which she can recur as desired. José, in kind, at times corrects Sophie's utterances unbidden, in a manner that is unlikely to be seen in general conversation between equals. His unsolicited corrections follow patterns seen in previous studies of NS/NNS interaction, including Kurhila (2001) and Wilkinson (2002),

Thus, it is clear that Sophie and José do orient to the novice/expert dynamic that is omnipresent in their interaction. The acceptance and embrace of this dynamic help to create a venue in which Sophie can participate to the degree to which she is able, a situation that resembles Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of legitimate peripheral participation. The following section of this chapter takes the notion of legitimate peripheral participation as a point of departure and attempts to trace Sophie's evolving role in participation, as she moves from peripheral towards full participation in interaction. Additionally, the section looks at how José's role appears to change as Sophie becomes a more capable interlocutor. In sum, section 5.3. examines co-construction in this NS/NNS dyad and its evolving form over the course of the year.

5.3 CO-CONSTRUCTION

In order to analyze the co-construction of IC, the moves that Sophie and José make when holding the floor and while the other is holding the floor were analyzed and coded. As discussed in Chapter 3, the coding of the data focused primarily on alignment activity, or moves that index shared understanding and the ability to adopt the other's point of view, as well as the ability to speak in the other's voice. The previous chapter presented discussion of these and other interactional features in terms of Sophie's ability to deploy these interactional resources appropriately. This chapter, on the other hand, looks as these and other move types and analyzes both speakers' use of these moves while holding the floor and while the other is holding the floor. Specifically, it focuses on moves by the floor holder that seek to confirm alignment or to initiate repair, and moves

by the other interlocutor that demonstrate alignment, seek to confirm alignment, or repair the floor holder's contributions.

5.3.1 NNS Has the Floor

One of the most salient features of Sophie and José's interaction while Sophie is holding the floor is the pervasiveness of repair sequences. As seen Section 5.2.2, the prevalence of repair in their conversations is one of the features that underscore the novice/expert dynamic of the interaction. Repair is initiated both by the NNS Sophie and by the NS José. José's self-initiated repairs sometimes constitute corrections on Sophie's erroneous utterances, and other times appear to be more preemptive, before she has actually completed her utterance.

In general, repair sequences initiated by either Sophie and José are more prevalent towards the beginning of the study abroad experience. Sophie initiates repair more often than José does, which is perhaps not surprising since her repair initiations are often preemptive, requesting unknown lexical items or appropriate forms for utterances she has not yet fully articulated. José does also perform preemptive repairs, but he clearly has less ability to do so because he can rely only on Sophie's completed utterances and facial expressions and cannot know the interior realm of her thought processes.

Another trend noticed in the repair sequences is that form-focused repairs show a much clearer decrease over the course of the year than repairs that are meaning-based, focused primarily on lexical deficiencies. These trends are represented in Table 5.1, which lists the numbers of moves that initiate or perform repair in each conversation.

Table 5.1 Repair Moves per Conversation While NNS Holds Floor

Conversation Number	1	2	3	4	5	6
NNS moves that initiate repair						
repair initiation:	10	16	9	7	3	8
meaning-based	6	9	1	5	1	7
form-focused	4	7	8	2	2	1
NS moves that perform repair						
other-initiated repair	11	14	9	7	3	8
self-initiated repair	7	13	8	2	2	4
meaning-based	2	3	3	2	1	4
form-focused	5	10	5	0	1	0

Although the number of repair moves in each conversation do not decrease linearly over the course of the year, it is clear that the general trend is towards diminishing numbers of repair moves. One plausible explanation for the lack of a linearly decreasing progression is that it appears that the amount of repair in the conversations is very dependent on the topics of conversation. For example, Sophie's apparent increased repair requests in Conversation 6 appear to be related primarily to a complicated narrative in which she describes a fight that she witnessed. Five of her eight repair initiations in Conversation 6 take place during this extended narrative and are mainly related to expressing detailed descriptions of movement, such as a horse bumping into a plastic windshield, as seen in excerpt 5-35.

Excerpt 5-35: Conversation 6

176 S - estaban en caballos, no sé porque. pero uno, el caballo ha, pasó de un moto, y el plástico, no sé cómo explico, y el plástico se mueve,
they were on horses, I don't know why. but one, the horse has, passed by a motorcycle, and the plastic, I don't know

how to explain it, and the plastic moves,

177 J - huhuh

178→ S - y, like, tiró el, not tiró
and, <u>like</u>, knocked over the, <u>not</u> knocked over

179 J - tiró, se tiró al suelo
knocked over, it was knocked to the ground

180 S - pero no se cayó, sólo se mueve y y y un español, un hombre español joven, yo diría 22, 23 años,
but it didn't fall, it only moves and and and a Spaniard, a young Spanish man, I would say about 22, 23 years,

181 J - uhum

182→ S - fue su moto, o era su moto. y él dice, dijo, me caigo en su puta madre, bla bla bla, y el otro hombre, y los dos hombres estaban borrachos, todo el mundo estaba borracho. Y los, uno, el hombre giró, y ha dicho qué?, o dio la vuelta?, puede decir?
it was (preterite) his motorcycle, or it was (imperfect) his motorcycle. and he says, said, I fall (she means to say <u>cago</u> – shit) on your mother whore (a common expletive in Spain), bla, bla, bla, and the other man, and the two men were drunk, everyone was drunk. And the, one, the man turned, and he has said what?, or he turned around? can you say that?

183 J - sí, se dieron la vuelta, [se giró, se dio la vuelta]
yeah, they turned around, [he turned, he turned around]

184 S - [se dio la vuelta.] y luego estaba sentado así, el caballo así (hand gestures showing locations)
[he turned around]. and then he was seated like this, the horse like this (hand gestures showing locations)

It is clear that in Conversation 6, Sophie's apparent increase in need for repair is related primarily to the lexical complexity of the stories she is telling. This contention is supported by the fact that her repair requests are almost exclusively meaning-based, and not form-focused.

Rather than counting conversation by conversation, the decreasing trend in repair is clearer if one compares the first semester to the second, as is represented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Repair Moves per Semester while NNS Holds the Floor

Semester	First (Fall)	Second (Spring)
NNS moves that initiate repair		
repair initiation:	35	18
meaning-based	16	13
form-focused	19	5
NS moves that perform repair		
other-initiated repair	34	18
self-initiated repair	28	8
meaning-based	8	7
form-focused	20	1

The data in Table 5.2 illustrate a clear difference in numbers of repair moves in the first and second semesters. In terms of repair in general and specifically in form-focused repair, both Sophie and José initiate much less repair in the second semester than in the first. The amount of meaning-based repair, however, varies only very slightly across the two semesters. The findings of a decrease in form-focused repair accompanied by a steady amount of meaning-based repair over the course of the year can be interpreted as evidence of a move away from a novice/expert dynamic that has a learning and teaching orientation, towards a mere recognition of the omnipresent novice/expert dynamic as a resource available as needed to facilitate communication. In other words, Sophie's focus moves from a form- and meaning-based interaction towards interaction that is more exclusively meaning-based. Without repairing lexical difficulties, the expression of meaning could be negatively affected; thus, Sophie does orient towards José's status as expert and uses him as a resource. Not repairing form-related difficulties, however, has little negative impact on meaning and thus is the focus of less attention as the year progresses and as

Sophie's priorities change. In addition, not attending to form-related errors is typical of NS interaction (Schegloff *et al.* 1977); thus, Sophie and José's interaction is perhaps moving more towards a NS dynamic. These shifting priorities are shared by José, as is evidenced by the fact that the progressive changes in types of repair moves he initiates on Sophie's utterances follow the same trajectory as Sophie's repair initiations of greatly decreased form-focused repairs accompanied by occasional meaning-based repairs.

Thus, it is clear that, in the changing nature and quantities of repairs in Sophie's and José's interactions, there is evidence of significant changes in the roles that each one plays in their conversations. Towards the beginning of the year, Sophie and José show a tendency to make salient their respective statuses as novice and expert in the language through form- and meaning-based repairs. As the year progresses, however, there is a movement towards interaction that is unencumbered by form-based repairs and the conversation is focused much more exclusively on co-constructing meaning, not structure. Repair is not absent, because Sophie is still a learner, but it is limited primarily to moves that facilitate a rich degree of meaning, not an accurate form of utterance. In sum, it appears that the interlocutors are slowly distancing themselves from the initial novice/expert orientation.

Repair is the type of move analyzed that showed a clear change over the course of the year. Other moves were analyzed, however, and they merit attention. Those other moves include those seeking to confirm and demonstrate alignment. The numbers of these other moves are presented in Table 5.3

Table 5.3 Other Alignment Moves per Conversation While NNS Holds Floor

Conversation Number	1	2	3	4	5	6
NNS moves that seek to confirm alignment						
comprehension check (language)	0	0	0	0	0	0
intersubjectivity check (referent)	2	0	0	5	2	2
NS moves that seek to confirm alignment						
question – clarification	0	0	2	5	0	0
NS moves that demonstrate alignment						
question – content	12	4	11	8	6	2
collaborative contributions	3	14	3	7	1	3
collaborative completions	2	2	8	4	7	3
assessments	8	19	17	14	10	18

The data in Table 5.3 do not show any major trends or surprises. Not unexpectedly, when Sophie is holding the floor, there are no comprehension checks, which are language-oriented checks of comprehension. They constitute moves in which an interlocutor asks the others if they understand the meaning of a word. These moves are occasionally seen when José is holding the floor, but they are not present when Sophie is holding the floor.

Intersubjectivity checks, or moves in which interlocutors asks the others if they are familiar with a particular referent, are evidenced in Sophie's and José's interactions, as seen in excerpt 5-36.

Excerpt 5-36: Conversation 6

167→ S - hay algunos que a ellos les gusta pelear. yo he visto una pelea. sabes dónde está Fontana?
there are some who like to fight. I have seen a fight. Do you know where Fontana (name of a local bar) is?

168 J - sí

yeah

169 S - la Fontana. …

In excerpt 5-36, Sophie checks with José in line 167 to confirm that he is familiar with the bar to which she refers. Intersubjectivity checks are common in interaction in general whenever an interactant believes that a referent might not be mutually familiar among interlocutors. In terms of Sophie's use of intersubjectivity checks, there appears to be some increase in the number of intersubjectivity check moves over the course of the year. It is difficult, however, to find an argument for attributing that growth to a development in IC. It seems possible that the greater number of intersubjectivity checks parallels a corresponding increase in complexity level of the topics of conversation, as can be observed subjectively. Later in the year abroad, Sophie makes more references to current events and often prefaces her discussions of the events with intersubjectivity checks, as seen in excerpt 5-37.

Excerpt 5-37: Conversation 6

21 J - eso, procurar de no llevar nada ilegal
that's it, try not to take anything illegal

22→ S - no no no, yo no voy a llevar nada, pero yo no quiero que ellos me tocan. lo que ha pasado a la pareja español. Habáis oído de esa?
no no no, I'm not going to take anything, but I don't want them to touch me. what happened to the Spanish couple. have you heard of that?

In excerpt 5-37, Sophie prefaces her discussion of a current news event with an intersubjectivity check to ascertain whether her interlocutors were familiar with the event. More complex and less mundane topics of conversation may

necessitate more moves that seek to confirm whether the interlocutors share knowledge of the referents being discussed. Thus, it can be argued that perhaps the increasing number of intersubjectivity checks is related to the degree of topic complexity and, in turn, the higher degree of complexity of topic is perhaps related to an increase in Sophie's IC and growing familiarity with the local culture and environs. While that argument is convenient, however, it is difficult to support since Sophie clearly has the resource of performing intersubjectivity checks from the beginning of the year.

It is clear that in her role as interactant, Sophie makes moves that engage José in co-constructing the conversation. Through repair, she enlists José's assistance in the interaction. Through intersubjectivity checks, she seeks to confirm alignment and shared understanding with José. José, in turn, also provides moves that actively co-construct the interaction. As shown above in Table 5.3, José makes a variety of moves that demonstrate alignment, including content questions, collaborative contributions, collaborative completions, and assessments. His active engagement in interaction is typical of conversation in general, and does not clearly index an orientation to the novice/expert paradigm.

While Sophie is holding the floor, José makes a number of moves that underscore his role in co-constructing the interaction. One move that he makes steadily over the course of the year is asking Sophie content questions that request more information or more detail on her contributions. As such, content questions indicate an interest in the current floor holder's topic of conversation. Additionally, they have the effect of keeping the floor in the floor holder's hands. There is a decrease in the number of content questions that José asks Sophie over the course of the year and, again, this finding begs the question of whether

the decrease is related to Sophie and José's changing roles in the interaction as a consequence of Sophie's developing IC. Kasper (2004) discusses NS/NNS interaction in a German conversation activity that was part of a course assignment. In those interactions, the NS of German played the role of "interaction manager," whose duties included asking questions, ratifying answers, introducing and developing topics, and, generally, just keeping the interaction going and keeping the NNS involved (p. 557). The division of labor in which the NS assumes the responsibility for managing the interaction may be typical of NS/NNS interaction with NNSs at certain levels of IC.

It is certainly possible that there is a relationship between José's decrease in content questions is related to Sophie's gains in IC and José's subsequent distancing from the role of interaction manager, but this change could also be influenced by a number of other factors, including perhaps the participants' familiarity with each other. José asks Sophie twelve content questions in Conversation 1, which is likely linked to the circumstance that they are meeting for the first time. In essence, José asks Sophie many questions in order to get to know her. As is discussed in Section 5.3.2, when José holds the floor in Conversation 1, Sophie asks only two content questions, in effect allowing José to take charge of the process of becoming acquainted.

The other three move types analyzed, which are collaborative contributions, collaborative completions, and assessments, manifest a steady presence over the course of the year. These moves, typical to conversation in general and not specifically indexing the novice/expert paradigm, indicate that José is actively involved in co-constructing the interaction with Sophie. This

finding is not surprising because José, as a native speaker, is assumed to have a high level of IC.

In sum, while the NNS Sophie is holding the floor, the NS José provides a number of supportive moves, such as assessments, collaborative contributions, and collaborative completions, that are typical of interaction in general. In addition, José provides and Sophie requests other types of supportive moves that index the novice/expert dynamic of their interaction. These moves, in the form of repair, address deficiencies and insecurities in Sophie's lexicon and grammar in Spanish. A gradual move away from the novice/expert dynamic is witnessed through the course of the year, based on the decreasing amount of repair, particularly in terms of form-based repairs.

The following section again analyzes the roles that Sophie and José play in the interaction, this time considering their roles when NS José has the floor.

5.3.2 NS Has the Floor

The changes that take place in the roles Sophie and José play while José has the floor are different than the changes evidenced when Sophie holds the floor. In the preceding section 5.3.1, evidence of movement away from the novice/expert paradigm was apparent, as conveyed by the decrease and changes seen in repair while Sophie held the floor. When José held the floor, however, the novice/expert paradigm was relatively unapparent throughout the whole year abroad. Instead, evidence of Sophie's growing interactional competence is apparent in her growing ability to perform alignment moves. In general terms, José's role when holding the floor is relatively stable over the

course of the year, while Sophie shows greater and greater involvement in elaborately co-constructing the interaction with José, as seen in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Alignment Moves per Conversation While NS Holds Floor

Conversation Number	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
NS moves that seek to confirm alignment						
comprehension check (language)	1	0	0	0	0	0
intersubjectivity check (referent)	0	4	1	3	3	3
NNS moves that seek to confirm alignment						
question – clarification	6	2	2	3	4	3
NNS moves that demonstrate alignment						
question – content	2	4	2	6	8	1
collaborative contributions	3	5	5	4	6	16
collaborative completions	0	0	0	1	2	2
assessments	2	4	8	12	9	10

The first type of alignment confirming move analyzed included intersubjectivity checks, or moves that seek to confirm alignment by verifying shared knowledge of a referent. An example of José's intersubjectivity check is seen in excerpt 5-38.

Excerpt 5-38: Conversation 4

137 → J - ...conoces ese juego de la Ouija y tal?
...are you familiar with the Ouija board game and the like?
138 S - sí
yeah

Intersubjectivity check moves such as the confirmation of shared knowledge of the Ouija board seen above in excerpt 5-38 are a type of move

typical of interaction in general. While one may be tempted to interpret the intersubjectivity checks as indexing a type of novice/expert dynamic in some instances, it is not a specifically NS/NNS dynamic that they index. Rather, they may index a novice/expert dynamic in terms of culture-specific knowledge or in-group knowledge, for example. In general, they indicate recognition of a possible lack of shared knowledge of a referent and they actively engage the hearer in the process of co-construction by eliciting their confirmation of familiarity with the referent. When they are the floor holders, both José and Sophie make occasional use of this linguistic resource.

Another of the move types that were analyzed was **comprehension checks**, moves that Long (1983) proposed as a conversational strategy used by NSs to address potential problems in comprehension when interacting with NNSs. Comprehension checks are moves that directly ask the hearers if they have understood. Long found that comprehension checks were more frequent in NS/NNS interaction than in NS/NS interaction. In Sophie and José's interactions, however, comprehension checks are rare. When José has the floor, he performs only one clear comprehension check in the whole year of conversations with Sophie, in Conversation 1.

Excerpt 5-39: Conversation 1

251	J -	... y él me decía por qué? joder, tío, que estás haciendo de guiri. *... and he kept saying why? damn, dude, because you're acting like a tourist.*
252	S-	sí *yeah*
253→	J -	sabes lo que significa guiri, no? *you know what tourist means, right?*
254	S -	sí

yeah

This single comprehension check concerns a slang term for 'tourist' or 'foreigner.' It constitutes the only time in Sophie and José's six conversations where José takes it upon himself to confirm directly that Sophie shares understanding with him in a language-oriented issue, rather than assuming that Sophie will express any lack of comprehension on her own.

Based on the analysis of these two move types, there is little evidence that José, when holding the floor, orients to Sophie's status as NNS. It is possible that other features of his speech, such as rate of speech, repetition, stress, and others of the strategies and tactics for avoiding and repairing difficulties laid out by Long (1983) do, in fact, index this dynamic, but the design of this study does not lend itself to analysis of these features.

José does not take responsibility for ensuring that Sophie has understood; rather, that responsibility remains in her hands. As in any interaction, Sophie has the right to make clarification request moves as needed in order to maintain shared understanding, as in excerpt 5-40, or to complete the second pair part of an adjacency pair successfully, as in excerpt 5-41.

Excerpt 5-40: Conversation 3

37	J -	también iba a ir a Niza *I was also going to go to Nice.*
38→	S -	dónde? *where?*
39	J -	el martes. Niza está en Francia *on Tuesday. Nice is in France.*
40	S -	oh, okay

Excerpt 5-41: Conversation 1

160		S -	me gusta la ciudad mucho y España en general. *I like the city a lot and Spain in general.*
161		J -	has estado en otros lugares de España? *have you been in other parts of Spain?*
162	→	S -	hm?
163		J -	has estado en otros lugares de España *have you been in other parts of Spain?*
164		S -	uh, sí. estábamos en Madrid *uh, yes. we were in Madrid*

Based on the analysis of these three move types, all three relating to confirming alignment in interaction, there is little evidence for the presence of a dynamic that indexes an orientation to the novice/expert paradigm. Unlike when the NNS is holding the floor and there is a substantial amount of repair being initiated by both interlocutors, the implication of this finding is that, when the NS is holding the floor, there are few co-constructive moves that acknowledge the omnipresent novice/expert paradigm. Additionally, there is little change over the course of the year seen in the numbers of the three moves analyzed, as shown above in Table 5.4.

One conclusion that could be drawn from the finding that there is relatively little orientation to the novice/expert paradigm while the NS holds the floor is that ultimately, the orientation to that dynamic is primarily spurred by the NNS. In section 5.2.2.2 above, the occurrence of clusters of repairs following a NNS repair initiation was described. In that case, it was proposed that the NNS's actions shifted the orientation of the interaction towards the novice/expert paradigm. Kasper (2004) came to a similar conclusion based on analysis of a NS and NNS of German engaged in a *Gesprächsrunde*, or round of talks:

> Whereas both participants orient to the [target language] as a metalingual object in [the repair] sequences, the shift from topical talk to a metalingual focus is always initiated by the nonnative speaker, and it is through her repair initiations—not her non-target-like language use per se—that the complementary social categories of [target language] novice and expert are made relevant (561).

It appears also to be the case that when the NS is holding the floor, the orientation may not be directed towards the novice/expert paradigm unless the NNS indicates the need for such a shift. The NS's stance essentially to treat the NNS as an equal legitimizes the NNS's participation in the interaction. If NNSs are not capable of full participation in the interaction, it is their responsibility to indicate the need for supportive moves.

The analysis of the alignment confirming moves discussed does not appear to reveal any significant findings in terms of Sophie's development of IC. The same cannot be said, however, for the results of the analysis of Sophie's alignment demonstrating moves, including content questions, collaborative contributions, collaborative completions, and assessments. The numbers of these moves per conversation are charted above in Table 5.4.

Of these four features analyzed, two are present from the beginning of the year and show relatively steady presence through the course of the year. The first is content questions, those that ask for more detail or more information about José's utterances. By asking questions of this nature, Sophie demonstrates interest in José's contributions, and makes moves that project José's further discourse. Excerpt 5-42 provides an example of one of Sophie's content questions.

Excerpt 5-42: Conversation 3

191 J - . . . lo que pasa es que tendría que despedirme de mi trabajo.

...the thing is that I would have to quit my job.

192→ S - y: tú trabajas en el verano también?
and you work in the summer too?

193 J - um sí, pero en el verano tengo un mes de vacaciones.
um yeah, but in the summer I have a month of vacation.

Content questions are one type of move that indicate Sophie's active participation in co-construction from the beginning of the year abroad. Another area of steady participation is collaborative contributions. From the beginning of the year, she occasionally makes comments that add more information to José's contributions and function as clear markers of intersubjectivity that co-construct José's topics. As seen in the previous chapter, collaborative contributions are made up of moves that rephrase the floor-holders contributions, add to list making, add further information or perspective, or contribute to image making. In terms of the role Sophie plays in the conversation, she produces similar amounts of collaborative contributions as José does, implying a relatively reciprocal role in co-construction.

In the final two categories of alignment demonstration moves, however, Sophie does in fact show a substantial increase in the deployment of these moves, implying a growing role in co-construction. Collaborative completions are moves in which an interactant completes another interactant's utterance. These moves exemplify a high degree of alignment in that the listener completely adopts the speaker's point of view and speaks in his voice. As was discussed in the previous chapter and as is clear from Table 5.4 above, Sophie does not appear to develop this resource until her second semester abroad. Her growing ability to engage in collaborative completion moves indicates a concurrent growing ability in participating in co-construction.

The final alignment demonstration move analyzed was Sophie's contributions of assessments on José's moves. Assessments are moves in which speakers evaluate the content of their interlocutors' contributions to the conversation. Assessments may be simple markers of agreement of the floor holder's evaluative description, or they may, in more elaborate versions, serve more as an illustration of shared knowledge and experience in a topic. More elaborate types of assessment have more evaluative weight than simple agreement markers and, as such, imply a greater degree of participation in the assessment activity. An agreement marker is an indicator merely of reception of a speaker's evaluative description, while an elaborate assessment is a participatory move.

The previous chapter qualitatively analyzed Sophie's assessment moves and her progress in actively providing more and more complex assessment structures as the year went on. Table 5.4 above presents quantitative analysis that supports the contention that Sophie demonstrates a burgeoning ability to provide assessments on José's utterances over the course of the year. By assessing José's utterances more frequently and more appropriately, Sophie takes on a more active role in the processes of co-construction.

5.4 SUMMARY

This chapter analyzed the roles that Sophie and José play in their interactions. The two main findings of the chapter concern the orientation that the interlocutors show to the novice/expert paradigm, and the participation of the NNS in the processes of co-construction. In general, both Sophie and José show a strong tendency to orient to the novice/expert paradigm, indexing this paradigm

through both their repair-oriented moves and their topics of conversation. In their frequent discussions of the language learning process, José explicitly states that Sophie should participate in the conversation to the best of her abilities, that he values her as a conversational co-participant, and that he will not judge her but rather will support her as needed. In essence, he proposes for her an engagement in which she can participate in concert with an expert but with limited responsibility and any support needed. The nature of this interaction reflects the description that Lave and Wenger (1991) propose for legitimate peripheral participation, the beneficial interaction between novice and expert that enables the novice to reach expert abilities.

Over the course of the year abroad, Sophie and José show less orientation to the novice/expert paradigm, indicating less reliance on and awareness of these roles. They initiate repair less frequently, especially in terms of form-focused repair. Paralleling this distancing from the novice/expert relationship is the greater participation of Sophie in co-constructing the interaction. Sophie becomes more able to provide supportive moves, such as assessments and collaborative completions, while José is holding the floor. As the year progresses, Sophie and José move towards a more balanced interaction where both can rely on each other to co-construct the conversation. It appears that Sophie is progressing from legitimate peripheral participation in the interaction towards full participation as her level of IC increases.

IC, according to He and Young (1998), is acquired through participation in interactive practices. The data presented here provide the researcher access to six occasions on which the learner Sophie participated in the interactive practice of conversation. Sophie's interactions within the community of practice, of

course, were not limited to her six conversations with José. Based on analysis of Sophie's Language Contact Journals (LCJ) and the researcher's observations, it is clear that Sophie was successful in integrating into the local speech community. The key, perhaps, to her success was the fact that early in her stay abroad, she began a romantic relationship with a local, nearly-native Spanish speaker of Moroccan descent. Sophie reported that she spent significant amounts of time with her boyfriend, Ali, including living with him, traveling with him, and basically spending almost all her free time with him. Sophie and Ali interacted solely in Spanish. Sophie did report, however, that Ali and his friends and family often interacted in Arabic while she was present. In her exit questionnaire at the end of the year abroad, Sophie indicated recognition that it would have been better if she had had more exposure to Spanish:

> Question: How do you feel about your progress in Spanish through your stay in Granada? In what areas did you improve most? What are you most insecure about?
>
> Response: I think that I have definitely improved, especially w/subjunctive (present & past). I have the most trouble w/ "les/ le" & the use of "se" [third-person pronouns with various functions, including indirect and reflexive pronouns, or marking passive or impersonal meaning]. Creo que si hubiera escuchado a español tanto como Árabe, hablaría mejor [I think that if I had listened to Spanish as much as Arabic, I would speak better]. I think I speak bastante [quite] well, but if I had listened to Spanish all the time, en vez de Árabe [instead of Arabic], I maybe would have perfected the use of "se" and "le/les" (Sophie, final questionnaire, July 5, 2001, explanations and translations in brackets).

Despite the limitations on the amount of Spanish she was exposed to due to Ali's bilingual status, Sophie had ample opportunity to interact in Spanish. In her first LCJ, completed three weeks after her arrival to Granada, she reported speaking primarily English, with her only interactions in Spanish being

conversations with her host family at meal times. On her second LCJ, after two months in Granada, she reported speaking Spanish about 50% of the time. The increase in interaction in Spanish was due to the addition of a circle of friends of Moroccan descent. The specific day analyzed, however, was unique for Sophie in that she normally would not have interacted in Spanish as much as she did on that occasion. She reported frustration at her degree of interaction in Spanish.

> Question: How do you feel about your progress in Spanish? What are your weaknesses and strengths?
>
> Answer: I think I am improving slowly, but I am disappointed that I am speaking so much English (like w/my American friends; and even w/my friends who speak Spanish (the Moroccans), one of them is learning English & wants to practice & speak English w/me). (Sophie, LCJ#2, November 2, 2000)

By her third month abroad, however, Sophie reported speaking Spanish 90% of the time. She indicated that her report represented a typical day because she always spent the majority of the day with Ali, with whom she spoke only in Spanish. The rest of her LCJs all indicate a similar amount of interaction in Spanish, ranging from 75% to 100%. The only exception was reported for a day in late May when Ali was busy and she spent most of her time with American friends. On that day she reported that she spoke Spanish about 40% of the time, but that it was highly atypical.

Thus, it is clear that Sophie interacted in Spanish frequently during her stay abroad. Given the fact that her main interactants in Spanish were her boyfriend, his friends and family, and her host family, it is also likely that the specific interactive practice in which she engaged was most frequently conversation, especially conversation among peers. Undoubtedly, she engaged in certain service encounters, such as ordering food in restaurants. The focus of

the present research, however, is Sophie's development in IC in the interactive practice of conversation. According to the theory of IC presented by He and Young (1998), Sophie's frequent engagement in conversation allowed her to gain IC in this interactive practice. The acquisition of IC entailed gaining skills in the use of interactional resources that permitted her to participate more fully in the co-construction of conversation.

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

6.1 OVERVIEW

The overall purpose of this dissertation is to provide a more fully-developed description of the construct of IC and to trace the development of IC longitudinally for one learner. This final chapter summarizes the findings of the research project and discusses their implications for the field of SLA and, specifically, for the claims and assumptions of the concept of IC. In addition, the pedagogical implications of the findings are discussed along with limitations of the research and suggestions for future research.

The first two sections address the specific findings of the study. Section 6.2 reviews the significance of the findings concerning the interactional resources related to speaker selection, alignment activity, and topic management that are manifest in the learner's contributions to the interaction over the course of the academic year. Section 6.3 analyzes the significance of the findings concerning co-construction in the interactions between the NS and the NNS, focusing on the findings concerning the interactants' orientation to the novice/expert paradigm, as well as the roles that the interactants play in co-construction when the NNS has the floor as opposed to when the NS has the floor. Section 6.4 discusses some of the pedagogical implications of the study. Finally, Section 6.5 presents some of the limitations of the study and offers suggestions for further research.

6.2 Significance of Findings – Interactional Resources

One claim made by proponents of the concept of IC is that previous models of second language competence ignore an important component of interactional ability; namely, the microskills that allow interactants to participate in conversation (He and Young, 1998). The research presented in Chapter 4 of the present work analyzes the interactional resources that are revealed in the learner's contributions to the interaction. The goal of the analysis was to shed light upon the skills that are present in the learner's speech, the resources that are lacking or underdeveloped, and the changes seen in the skills displayed over time. The learner's skills in the three general areas of speaker selection, alignment activity, and topic management were analyzed. The specific research questions addressed were:

(1) What interactional resources does the individual L2 learner seem to have acquired? What expected interactional resources appear to be lacking or underdeveloped?

(2) How do the displayed interactional resources appear to change over the course of the year abroad?

Table 6.1, below, plots the three areas of microskills over the course of the year abroad, focusing on the abilities evident at the beginning and end of the year as represented respectively by Conversations 1 and 6, with commentary on developments apparent in Conversations 2-5.

Table 6.1 NNS Development in Interactional Resources

Interactional resource	Conversation 1: Start of Stay Abroad	Conversations 2-5: Developmental Process	Conversation 6: End of Stay Abroad
Speaker Selection			
Self-selection when non-current speaker	Able to take floor, but uses few markers to do so, generally just acknowledgement tokens such as sí 'yes'.	Gradual incorporation of more appropriate markers to take floor.	Able to take floor with more markers used to transition between turns, including assessments
Self-selection when current speaker	Average length of turn 9.2 words, range in turn length 1-27 words.	Not a straight progression of increase in length of turns and ranges.	Average length of turn 32.9 words, range in turn length 2-114 words – interpreted as evidence of higher skill level.
Other-selection	Needs repetition of questions frequently.	Needs repetition less frequently.	Needs no repetition.
Alignment activity			
Assessments on other's contributions	Nods, laughs, one or more sí , 'yeah.' One token of more complex assessment marred by ill timing.	Gradual incorporation of more complex structures, including sí, yo creo que sí 'yes, I think so' and a mí también 'me too.' Descriptive evaluations (adjectives) most apparent beginning Conversation 4.	Wider repertoire with greater complexity than at beginning of stay abroad.
Assessments on own contributions	Very few discernible self-assessments, perhaps due in part to relatively few contributions to the conversation.	Beginning with Conversation 2, good variety of assessments on own contributions more than on José's. Includes affect markers, use of English, more complex structures.	Wider repertoire with greater complexity than at beginning of stay abroad. Lacks some NS features including repetition and rephrasing.
Collaborative Completions	None	First appear in Conversation 4, grow progressively more accurate and better timed.	Very competent collaborative completions.
Collaborative Contributions	Apparent in terms of collaborating with list making and rephrasing.	Increasing presence in more contexts.	Greater skills in terms of length and complexity.
Topic Management			
Topic Initial Elicitors	None	None	None
Topic transition markers	Limited repertoire: one word transition makers including sí 'yeah,' pero 'but,' and 'y.'	Repertoire expanding to multi-word transitions, primarily topic openings, not closings.	Has much wider repertoire than beginning of year with greater complexity of structures, but shows little use of discourse markers used by José nor of using multiple markers.

In general terms, it appears that Sophie's level of development in the three categories of interactional resources analyzed showed already relatively strong skills in speaker selection and nascent or undeveloped skills in alignment activity and topic management at the beginning of the semester abroad. Over the course of the year abroad Sophie showed some degree of development in all of the resources analyzed with the exception of topic initial elicitors. By the end of her stay abroad, she showed stronger skills in both speaker selection and alignment activity, and some skill in topic management in terms of topic transition markers.

Sophie's longitudinal development in speaker selection in the discursive practice of conversation parallels Young and Miller's (2004) finding of longitudinal development in speaker selection, particularly self-selection, by a learner engaged in the discursive practice of revision talk. In both cases, the learners began with some skill in speaker selection at the onset of the research. Over the course of time, however, their skills in this set of interactional resources improved, indicating development in IC.

In Sophie's case, her interactions with José did not constitute the first time she had ever been engaged in conversation in Spanish. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that she already had developed some degree of competence in the interactional resource of speaker selection used in this discursive practice. In the case of Young and Miller's (2004) NNS, however, it was apparently his first time engaged in the discursive practice of revision talk in the second language (discursive practice discussed in section 2.2.2). Why, therefore, did he already appear to have some competence in deploying the interactional resources

related to speaker selection in this specific discursive practice in his very first time engaged in the practice in the target language?

Young (1999) indicated that one of the goals of studies in IC should be to analyze IC in specific discursive practices and "the degree to which interactional competence in a given practice can be generalized to other practices" (120). It is possible that IC acquired in less-constrained discursive practices, such as conversation, may be readily generalized to other practices. Thus, Young and Miller's (2004) NNS presumably had already achieved some degree of competence with speaker selection through general conversations or some other, more extensive, discursive practice. The skills he had in that area could be applied to some degree to the new, more-constrained discursive practice of revision talk in which he found himself engaged. Following the same reasoning, a speaker who has reached some degree of IC in a very specific, well-defined discursive practice may not be able to generalize the skills to other discursive practices, both specific and less-constrained practices. Many tourists, for example, may be able to negotiate ordering food in restaurants successfully, but exhibit little IC in most other discursive practices of the native-speaking community of practice.

The claim that IC in less-constrained discursive practices can be more readily generalized to other discursive practices than skills acquired in a more-constrained discursive practice is suggested only tenuously in the present research. It is, however, a claim that warrants further investigation because it may reveal patterns of acquisition that address Young's (1999) goal of investigating the generalizability of IC in a given practice to other practices. Hall (1999) maintains that discursive practices that are less ritualized and/or less

goal-oriented, such as conversation, likely pose a greater challenge for learners engaged in the process of acquisition. This claim comes from Hall's (*ibid*) model of the development of IC in which she proposes that learners need to engage in systematic analysis of discursive practices. Her proposal, discussed further in section 6.4 below, suggests that "the less L2 interactionally competent the learners are, the more ritualized the practice to be studied should be" (p. 149). Hall's contention supports the notion that IC in less-ritualized discursive practices constitutes a more advanced level of IC than IC in more-ritualized discursive practices, a claim that would likely support the notion that those advanced-level skills could be more easily generalized to other practices.

The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (1999), while not based on the theory of IC, make claims about learners' abilities in speaker selection at different proficiency levels. The Guidelines, intended to reflect speakers' performance specifically in conversation, indicate that at the Intermediate-Low level, learners "struggle to answer direct questions or requests for information, but they are also able to ask a few appropriate questions" (p. 9). Intermediate-Mid speakers show fewer difficulties in answering direct questions, but their functioning still tends to be reactive, implying perhaps poorly developed skills in self-selection. Above the Intermediate-Mid level, the Guidelines do not appear to address speaker selection, indicating perhaps an assumption that speaker selection is no longer developing at that level, or at least is not a major weakness.

The findings presented in this dissertation indicate that, in the case of one learner, the skills in speaker-selection are not fully developed by the Intermediate-High level, contradicting the apparent claims of the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. Instead, while some strong skills are evident at

Intermediate-High level, the level at which Sophie tested at the beginning of her stay abroad, weaknesses are apparent. The development of speaker selection clearly involves greater subtlety than the Guidelines represent.

Sophie's skills in alignment activity and topic management also showed development during her year abroad, but she clearly began at a lower skill level in both of these groupings of interactional resources than she did in speaker selection. In addition, her development in topic management was significantly less fully manifested than her development in alignment activity. This pattern of development of the resources may be related to the relative importance that each of these groups of interactional resources play in co-construction. Interactional resources in a specific discursive practice may be acquired in an order that corresponds with the resources' relative weight in co-construction.

Speaker selection in interaction rests, perhaps, at the most basic, structural level of co-construction. Individual interactants without some skills in speaker selection are able to contribute little to conversation. Some of their deficiencies may be shouldered by a more capable interactant who acts as an "interaction manager" (Kasper 2004) by, for example, consistently inviting the less-skilled speaker to take the floor. Until some skills in speaker selection develop, however, a NNS can take little responsibility in the co-construction of the interaction. For this reason, the interactional resources involved in speaker selection may tend to develop earlier in the process of development of IC.

The interactional resources related to alignment activity, on the other hand, are arguably more optional than those related to speaker selection. One can participate in interaction with alignment markers that do not extend beyond minimal agreement markers. The importance of alignment activity, nevertheless,

is not insubstantial. Through alignment activity, speakers demonstrate their shared understanding or intersubjectivity, the ability to adopt the other's point of view, or even the ability to speak in the other's voice. By contributing elaborate assessments, for example, a hearer co-constructs the evaluative import of the speaker's contributions. Logically, however, speakers simply cannot align beyond minimal agreement markers until they can at least participate minimally in speaker selection. Consequently, development in alignment activity follows the initial development in speaker selection.

Topic management was the area of interactional resources that saw the least development in Sophie's speech. Topic management, perhaps, has less bearing on co-construction than the other two groups of interactional resources examined. That is not to imply that topic management is not co-constructed. As Howe (1991) indicates, topic transition, especially topic closing, is generally a jointly-constructed process in NS interaction in which speakers indicate their agreement to close the topic down. Not participating in the marking of topic borders, however, may affect the interaction less than not participating in speaker-selection and alignment activity. Interactants with limited skills in speaker-selection need to rely upon the more competent interactants to hold the floor or invite them to take the floor. Interactants with poorly-developed skills in alignment activity are limited in their ability to express their intersubjectivity to their interlocutors, or even to express their interest in the other interlocutors' contributions. Interactants with limited skills in topic management, however, are still able to open new topics, but they may do so relatively abruptly. It would appear that topic management plays a less central role in co-construction than the other resources analyzed here. For this reason, perhaps, topic management

is an area of interactional resources that develops later than alignment activity and speaker selection.

The researcher of the current project has proposed that the pattern of development seen in Sophie's acquisition of IC is related to the roles that individual interactional resources play in co-construction. More research is needed to confirm whether the pattern seen in Sophie's acquisition is a typical trajectory. It could be revealing to analyze learners at various oral proficiency levels to see if the development of the interactional resources appears to correlate to general oral proficiency levels. What is clear is that development in these interactional resources allows for greater participation in the co-construction of interaction. Learners with poorly developed interactional resources can claim little responsibility in co-constructing conversation. As their skills improve, they can claim greater responsibility in the interaction, lessening the interactional burden on the NS interactant. Section 6.3 discusses the significance of the findings concerning the role that Sophie played in co-construction over the course of the year abroad.

6.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF FINDINGS – CO-CONSTRUCTION

IC, according to He and Young (1998), comprises the interactional resources that speakers have in their repertoires and can use competently in interaction. In addition, the construct of IC attempts to account for how interactants manage communication together. This perspective is different than the traditional CC perspective that focuses on individuals and their skills. IC instead takes the point of view that all interaction is jointly constructed by

participants who draw on interactional resources in order to achieve communication.

The research presented in Chapter 5 analyzed the process of co-construction in NS/NNS interaction. Specifically, it analyzed the roles that the NS and the NNS played in the interaction, including their orientation to the novice/expert paradigm and the apparent distribution of rights and obligations between the interactants. The specific research questions addressed were:

(1) How and when do the interactants orient to their status as novice and expert? How do they co-create the novice/expert dynamic? How does this dynamic change over the course of the novice's year abroad?

(2) What roles do the NS and the NNS play in the co-construction of interaction? What is the apparent distribution of rights and obligations between the interactants? How do the roles and the distribution of rights and obligations evolve over time?

Orientation to the expert/novice dynamic and movement away from this dynamic over time can be viewed, following Lave and Wenger's (1991) construct of legitimate peripheral participation, as evidence of Sophie's trajectory from peripheral towards full participation in interaction. There were two main behaviors that were interpreted as evidence of Sophie and José's orientation to the novice/expert paradigm: discussion of language learning and repair. In their discussions of language learning, José proposed for Sophie and Sophie professed to need a type of interaction that fits the description of Lave and Wenger's "legitimate peripheral participation." Sophie was invited to participate in expert conversation but with limited responsibility and clear indication that she would be offered support as needed. In their interactions, Sophie, as the NNS

novice, had the opportunity to employ her developing communicative skills under the supervision of José, the NS expert. The goal of their activity was officially oriented to communication, but they also recognized a meta-activity of providing a less competent speaker the opportunity to participate in communicative practices with an expert who could provide a model, repair, clarification, and other forms of support as needed.

Sophie and José's discussion of language learning and their explicit acknowledgement of their dual goals in the interaction may well be a product of the unnatural setting of the conversations. Sophie and José were strangers when they engaged in their first conversation and their interactions were video-taped. One wonders if similar discussions take place in spontaneous interactions between NNS learners and NSs. Regardless of whether explicit discussion of the dynamics at play takes place, it appears that an implicit understanding of the special circumstances of the language learner would be present in much NS/NNS interaction. One assumes, however, that not all NS/NNS interaction would achieve a balance between providing the NNSs support while also respecting their competencies. On one end of the spectrum, NNSs may be frustrated by NSs who insist on correcting learner errors to the detriment of communication, as was reported by Wilkinson (2002). On the other end of the spectrum, NNSs may find themselves in encounters with NSs who are unaccustomed to dealing the NNSs or simply unsympathetic to NNSs' needs. José appears to be the proverbial "sympathetic listener" referred to in the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (1999).

José and Sophie also displayed their orientation to the novice/expert paradigm through their frequent use of repair; specifically, correction. They

engaged in repair processes to varying degrees throughout the course of the year, indicating their evolving orientation to the novice/expert paradigm. The patterns evidenced in their interactions support findings by Norrick (1991) and Kurhila (2001) showing particular patterns of repair in novice/expert interactions, but did not replicate the patterns seen in Wilkinson (2002). The pervasiveness of repair sequences was a salient pattern in the interactions while Sophie was holding the floor, particularly towards the beginning of her stay abroad. The present research contributes to the previous research on repair in novice/expert interactions by introducing evidence of patterns not noted before, including the existence of clusters of repairs and the probable underlying causes of said clusters. The findings also reveal the changes in the types of repairs seen over the course of the year abroad, indicating an orientation shift away from some form-focused repairs towards almost exclusively meaning-based repairs.

The most noticeable changes seen in co-construction while Sophie was holding the floor were the changing patterns in repair. Analysis of other co-constructive moves related primarily to alignment activity revealed few changes over the year. When José was holding the floor, however, there were significant changes in co-construction, specifically in Sophie's contributions. In general terms, José's role when holding the floor was relatively stable over the course of the year, while Sophie showed a growing involvement in elaborately co-constructing the interaction with José through her skillful deployment of alignment moves. One significant finding was that the novice/expert paradigm was relatively unapparent when José was holding the floor throughout the entire year abroad. José made only one comprehension check through the course of the whole year, a finding that refutes Long's (1983) claim that comprehension checks

are common in NS/NNS interaction. Instead of performing such checks to ascertain that Sophie understood, José left it to her responsibility to indicate the need for clarification.

One conclusion that could be drawn from the finding that there is relatively little orientation to the novice/expert paradigm while the NS holds the floor is that, ultimately, the orientation to that dynamic is primarily spurred by the NNS. This contention is supported by other research focusing specifically on repair initiation in NS//NNS interaction (Kasper 2004; Hosoda 2006). The occurrence of clusters of repairs following a NNS repair initiation was described earlier. It was proposed that the NNS's actions shifted the orientation of the interaction towards the novice/expert paradigm. It may also be the case that when the NS is holding the floor, the orientation may not be directed towards the novice/expert paradigm unless the NNS indicates the need for such a shift. The NS's stance to treat the NNS essentially as an equal legitimizes the NNS's participation in the interaction. The results here suggest that if NNS's are not capable of full participation in the interaction, it may be their responsibility to indicate the need for supportive moves.

The findings presented on co-construction in NS/NNS interaction illustrate the dynamic created by two individuals as they engaged in interaction. Together they negotiated a dynamic in which the NNS had the right to participate in the discursive practices of the culture in which she was studying abroad. He and Young (1998) contend that it is through participation with more experienced individuals in interaction that IC is acquired. It follows, then, that Sophie's increase in IC, as evidenced by her greater participation in co-construction through more adept deployment of interactional resources, accompanied by a

decrease in orientation to the novice/expert paradigm, may have resulted from the interactions in which she participated while in the study abroad setting. Her interactions with José represent a small fraction of her participation in the communicative practices of the target culture. Despite the fact that Sophie and José only met six times to talk, it is clear that both of their behaviors changed over the course of the year as Sophie's level of IC improved. The changes seen in both the interactants' behavior supports He and Young's (1998) main tenet of the theory of IC: rather than residing in the individual, IC is ultimately co-constructed in interaction.

6.4 PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

IC, according to He and Young (1998), is acquired in specific interactive practices through participation with more experienced individuals in those interactive practices. For the second language learner, maximizing opportunities for interaction with NSs would allow for the greatest potential acquisition of IC. Logically, then, Sophie's choice to study abroad and her successful creation of social networks in the study abroad setting placed her squarely in the community of practice. While in the study abroad setting, a learner may have the opportunity to participate in a wide variety of interactive practices with NSs, ranging from more specific practices such as purchasing cigarettes in a tobacco stand, to less specific practices such as conversation among peers, opportunities that are not commonly afforded to the learners who stay in their home communities.

Access to the community of practice is not, of course, limited to the immersion setting of study abroad. Learners can be directed to seek local communities of practice and engage in service work or create other types of

relationships that allow them to participate in interactions with NSs. Such activities would clearly be constrained by the existence of said communities; American students of languages such as Spanish would enjoy greater opportunities for interaction with NSs than those who study languages not spoken by local immigrant populations. In addition to direct interactions with NSs, existing technologies can be employed to allow for virtual interactions with NSs in a variety of modalities, including online chat rooms, internet phone services, and video interactions, to name but a few of the possibilities available.

While simply increasing interaction with NSs is a learning strategy that language teachers have long encouraged, the acquisition of IC can likely be maximized through thoughtful interventions and analyses of the interactions themselves. Hall (1999) asserts that IC in interactive practices is acquired through two processes: "through guided participation with more experienced participants, and through the conscious, systematic study of them in which learners mindfully abstract, reflect upon, and speculate upon the patterns of use" (p. 140). She proposes the incorporation of classroom activities that involve analysis of speakers engaged in discursive practices; including, for example, video or audio recordings of mealtime talk, service encounters, or advising sessions. Through analysis, the learners could discover the patterns evident in the discursive practices that would provide "linguistic and cognitive scaffolds" for the learners (p. 145).

Hall cautions that beginning students would need to be limited to analyzing discursive practices that were more constrained and ritualized. She contends that language use that is less ritualized such as conversation among peers, for example, should likely be left for only the most advanced students, as

it may prove to be “too unwieldy, linguistically and cognitively” for students with less experience in the language, in terms of experience both in interaction and in interactional analysis (p. 145). Her model of interactional analysis involves ethnographic analysis of the extralinguistic components of the interactions along with the linguistic resources employed (p. 146). The extralinguistic components include the setting, the participants, and the expected goals or outcomes of the discursive practice, while the linguistic resources include the topics, the speech acts, the turn-taking patterns, and the formulaic openings, transitions, and closings (146-148). Hall indicates that using this model of analysis can help language learners “to make sense of, and subsequently develop, some of the interactional competence needed to participate in the interactive practices of those whose language is being learned” (148).

Studies conducted on the acquisition of second language pragmatics support, to some degree, Hall’s claims about the teachability of IC in specific discursive practices. Koike and Pearson (2005) examined learners’ development in the pragmatic knowledge to produce suggestion speech acts in Spanish. Suggestion speech acts would compose some of the interactional resources relevant to the discursive practice of suggestions. Koike and Pearson found evidence that explicit instruction concerning the directness and pragmatic force of different suggestions and responses to suggestions appeared to improve learners’ understanding of the pragmatic elements, while implicit instruction and feedback improved learner production. Alcón Soler (2005) found that both explicit and implicit instruction improve learners’ pragmatic knowledge of request strategies, finding some advantage to explicit instruction over implicit instruction.

In general, studies on pragmatic development have supported Schmidt's (1993) Noticing Hypothesis that claims that attended processing leads to greater learning than mere exposure to the target language. Given the overlap of pragmatic knowledge and IC in specific discursive practices, it is likely that the Noticing Hypothesis is relevant to the acquisition of IC as well. The model of analysis proposed by Hall (1999), presented above, is predicated upon that hypothesis. Further research on the development of IC is needed to provide support or refutation of that assumption and to provide insight that can lead to further proposals for pedagogical practices addressing the acquisition of IC.

6.5 Significance, Limitations, and Ideas for Further Research

Young (1999), in his review of sociolinguistic approaches to SLA, lamented the dearth of studies that have examined IC:

> At this point, however, no empirical studies have been carried out to test the claims of the theory [of IC]. We have, as yet, very few detailed descriptions of the configuration of interactional resources that constitute the interactional architecture of a given practice… And we await descriptive and pedagogical studies of how novices become expert participants and the degree to which interactional competence in a given practice can be generalized to other practices (119-120).

The primary goal of the dissertation presented here was to attempt to provide precisely the research for which Young called. While some research has been published on IC and its development, the research presented here is unique in its longitudinal, non-classroom scope. The context is perhaps the most significant element of the study.

The study presented here analyzed the acquisition of IC by a learner studying abroad in Granada, Spain. The learner, Sophie, showed clear signs of improvement in her level of IC in conversation over the course of the year abroad. Further research may reveal if the degree to which she improved was typical for a student in a year-long study abroad program, or if it was relatively weak or strong compared to students at similar levels of proficiency in similar programs.

IC, according to He and Young (1998), is acquired through participation in interactive practices. Lave and Wenger (1991) maintain that access "to the community of practice and all that membership entails" is the key for newcomers to legitimate peripherality. "To become a full member of a community of practice requires access to a wide range of ongoing activity, old-timers, and other members of the community; and to information, resources, and opportunities for participation" (100-101). Access to participation in the interactive practices of the target culture is not guaranteed in the study abroad setting. Many learners report difficulties in integrating enough in the study abroad setting to have the opportunities to engage in interactions that are more than mere service encounters. A study of learners studying abroad in Russia in the 1990's found, for example, that the female students in the group were frustrated in their attempts to integrate into the society and expand their social networks due to sexist attitudes prevailing in the society, in their opinions (Polanyi 1995). Other learners may choose to socialize primarily with fellow study abroad students out of fear, shyness, or other factors.

Sophie, however, did not experience difficulties in forming relationships with Spanish speakers in the study abroad setting. During her first semester

abroad she lived with a family with whom she got along well. She reported to this researcher that she enjoyed their company and had frequent conversations with them. She also spoke to José about them on numerous occasions, relating to him conversations and experiences she had had with them. In addition to her relationship with her host family, she became romantically involved with a non-native but local Spanish speaker the second month she was in Granada. That relationship lasted through the whole of Sophie's study abroad experience and, indeed, continues to this day. Sophie reported that she spoke only Spanish when with her boyfriend. She spent significant amounts of time with him and his friends, including sharing an apartment with him her second semester abroad and traveling to Morocco with him three times to visit his family.

We have insight into Sophie's interactions only with her host family, her boyfriend and his friends, and other Spanish speakers based on Sophie's reports. On six occasions over the course of the year, however, Sophie engaged in sustained videotaped conversations with José, a NS of Spanish with whom she discussed a variety of topics. Over the course of the year abroad, changes were evident in the nature of Sophie and José's interactions. The changes seen in Sophie's use of interactional resources are considered evidence of the acquisition of IC.

One question to consider in terms of the construct of IC is whether there is a typical pattern of acquisition of IC. If there is an attempt to provide a description of different levels of IC and possibly to coordinate the levels with the ACTFL proficiency scale, would we find that the patterns seen in Sophie's development hold true for most learners as they progress from Intermediate High to Advanced Low? Or would their acquisition of IC depend most on the context

of their language use, as the theory maintains? The current study has proposed that the order of acquisition of the interactional resources involved in conversation may by influenced by the importance of the specific resources in co-construction. Further research is needed to support or refute that claim.

Learners' interactions with other, more experienced interactants in specific discursive practices lead to IC in the specific discursive practices. Young (1999) wonders to what degree IC in a specific discursive practice can be generalized to other discursive practices. The present study proposes that IC acquired in less defined practices, such as conversation, may be more easily generalized to other more ritualized practices than from ritualized practices to less defined ones. This claim should be investigated to determine if actual acquisition supports or refutes it.

Additionally, it seems apparent to this researcher that the personality and interactional tendencies in individuals' native languages may be factors of great importance in the acquisition of IC. These tendencies may be related to issues such as gender or cultural background, or they may be idiosyncratic. Background knowledge is surely a factor, because greater shared knowledge between interlocutors allows for greater co-construction of topics. Sophie is, by subjective observation, a good conversationalist in her native English, due in part to her outgoing, engaging personality, and, also, her interest in current events. It is possible that when individuals are referred to as "good conversationalists," the observation stems from their being good co-constructors, perhaps especially in terms of alignment. For this reason, it may be wise to analyze learners speaking in both their native languages and the target languages to determine if perhaps second language learners' poorly developed use of assessments, for example, is

indicative of their general interactional tendencies and not, as we might assume, a sign of deficiency specific to the second language.

He and Young (1998) propose that IC is composed of the interactional resources that a speaker has in his repertoire and is able to use competently in interaction. The configuration of the interactional resources that speakers bring to a conversation includes, in He and Young's construct, the resources related to turn and topic management, the knowledge of rhetorical scripts, knowledge of the pragmatics of specific lexis and syntactic structures, and the means for signaling boundaries. The study presented here contributes to the construct of IC by analyzing the resources related to turn and topic management in general conversation and, most importantly, showing the trajectory of their development. In addition, this study underlined the importance of adding yet another group of interactional resources to the construct of IC: those related to alignment activity. Alignment activity is the locus of highly co-constructive moves in interaction; hence its importance for the construct of IC. The results of the analysis of the development of interactional resources led to the proposal that perhaps the typical trajectory of development is related to the importance that each constellation of interactional resources plays in co-construction.

IC, in He and Young's model (1998) attempts to account for how interactants manage communication together. Rather than understanding CC as residing in the individual, IC takes the point of view that all interaction is jointly constructed by participants who draw on interactional resources in order to achieve communication. The present study has contributed to this perspective by analyzing the roles that Sophie and José played in the co-construction of communication, examining their rights and obligations in building the

conversations. In addition, through the analysis of the changes seen in these roles over time, the investigation was able to trace the learner's development in IC as she became more adept at drawing on interactional resources that enabled her to have a more equal role in co-construction with José. Included in the discussion of the roles that Sophie and José played in the conversations was analysis of their orientation to the novice/expert paradigm. One indicator of their orientation to this paradigm was Sophie's and José's use of repair processes. The present study contributed to existing research on repair by noting new patterns of repair in novice/expert interaction, including the phenomenon of repair clusters and the trajectory from form-focused to meaning-focused repair over time. The analysis of the novice/expert paradigm described how Sophie was ratified as a legitimate peripheral participant in the interaction, according to Lave and Wenger's (1991) description, and her movement towards full participation in the interaction. Sophie's participation in the communicative practices of the target culture is the key to the acquisition of IC, in He and Young's (1998) model.

Thus, the present study has made inroads into the void lamented by Young (1999) concerning research in IC. The study presented here, however, is limited in its scope, due to the fact that the data represent only one learner. Case studies are important in providing detailed accounts of individuals, but analysis of more learners in similar circumstances is necessary before claims can be made concerning general patterns of the process of acquisition of IC. In addition, despite their seemingly natural topics and flow, the conversations recorded for this study were not completely naturally occurring but rather were recorded in an essentially laboratory-like setting. Also, the relationship between José and Sophie was limited to just the six encounters they had for the data

recording. Further studies on the development of IC would benefit from analysis of interactions of learners with interactants from within their organic social networks. In Sophie's case, for instance, recordings of her interactions with her host family or her boyfriend could have provided a useful point of comparison to determine if the use of the interactional resources parallels the uses seen when speaking with José, or if their development may be related in some part to familiarity with the interactants. In addition, analysis of those conversations could reveal configurations of legitimate peripheral participation that differ in ways from the dynamic that Sophie and José co-created.

There is still much research that needs to be conducted to test the construct of IC further and determine its validity and usefulness in the field of SLA. It is hoped that this dissertation has made some contribution to that goal.

Appendix A: Conversation Topics

General topics of conversation in each of Sophie and José's six conversations.

Conversation 1

- Language learning
- Sophie's living situation
- Climate in Massachusetts and Granada
- Granada
- Travel in Spain
- Tourists and awareness of danger
- Sophie's career goals

Conversation 2

- Sophie's recent experiences
- Granada
- The weather and appropriate clothing
- Sophie's travel plans
- José's travels
- Language learning
- La siesta and nightlife
- The beach and swimming
- Sightseeing and eating in Granada
- Sophie's living situation and host families in general
- José's living situation
- Cats

Conversation 3

- Sophie's recent travels
- José's recent activities
- Morocco
- Christmas vacations
- José's friend who just returned from a year in Moscow
- Summer vacations
- Sophie's classes and exams
- José's active social life
- Eating at home, at friends' homes, and in restaurants
- Anecdote about Spanish author Valle Inclán
- Spanish literature

Conversation 4

- Sophie's recent trip to Morocco
- Long discussion of Calderón de la Barca's La vida es sueño
- Sophie's classes
- Bécquer
- Scary experiences
- Dogs: personal experiences, pit bulls, dogfights, etc.
- Animal abuse

Conversation 5

- Speaking English versus Spanish
- José's social outings
- The movie Amistad
- The colonization of Latin America
- End of the year party
- Music
- Granada
- Travel plans
- Climate
- End of the school year transitions
- José's job
- Punctuality
- The room

Conversation 6

- Sophie's fear about returning to the United States
- Anecdotes about problems at customs and immigration
- Police
- Discussion of Spaniard on death row in the United States
- Violence
- Guns and gun control
- Police brutality
- Street fights they have witnessed
- Animals and violence
- Summer plans
- Religion
- José's English class

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Vita

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